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THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID...

CARTER: COMMENT

WASHINGTON 10
July 13

Joseph Kraft

Carter

And the

Outsiders

NEW YORK—Jimmy Carter's passage from primary to presidential candidate presents the most interesting measure of the man we have had to date. For Mr. Carter won the nomination with a little band of brothers—a general, namely himself, with a staff of half a dozen noncoms.

To deal with issues and groups remote from his immediate staff, he must now expand the operation from the tiny wigwam of his familiars to the immense universe of the Democratic Party and its associated experts. As an occasional critic of Mr. Carter, I am pleased to report that so far at least he is navigating this tricky passage smoothly and at a good clip.

Possibly the best example lies in his dealings with the Catholic hierarchy on the issue of abortion, or right to life. Just before the convention began, Archbishop Joseph Bernardin of Cincinnati, the chairman of the Conference of Bishops, issued a strong statement criticizing the plank in the Democratic platform which commits the party to accepting the Supreme Court decision permitting abortion in certain circumstances.

The inner Carter staff—Hamilton Jordan, the political adviser; Jody Powell, the spokesman; Pat Caddell, the pollster; and Stuart Eizenstat, the issues man—were disposed to minimize the issue. At a press breakfast they pointed out that Archbishop Bernardin was only a single prelate; that he did not speak for the whole hierarchy; and that, in any case, Catholics voted independently, not under instructions from church officials.

A wave of protests, however, caused Carter to listen to outside advice. He took counsel, among others, with Edward Bennett Williams, the Washington criminal lawyer who is legal representative for several leading Catholic officials. Mr. Williams made an extensive canvass of the hierarchy.

He reported to Carter that Archbishop Bernardin, far from acting only on his own motion, spoke for the hierarchy as a whole. He pointed out that to a large extent the hierarchy was under pressure from the Catholic laity, outraged by the Democratic Party's tolerance of abortion.

As a result, Carter has been alerted to what could have been a sensitive problem in the campaign ahead. He will probably be taking some action—perhaps a visit to Archbishop Bernardin, perhaps dispatch of an envoy to the Vatican—which will ease his relations with the hierarchy, and make it possible for the bishops to show all Catholics that they are not letting the abortion issue go by default.

In picking a vice-presidential candidate, Carter again showed himself open to advice from persons whom he barely knew. One of the reasons Sen. John Glenn of Ohio got as far as he did in the vice-presidential race is that he was given a strong endorsement by Majority Leader Mike Mansfield.

Perhaps the most interesting case of outside advice comes from the foreign policy area—notably in the speech Carter delivered to the Foreign Policy Association on June 23. An early draft of that speech, prepared by Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia, emphasized solidarity between the United States and its allies in Europe and Japan even at the expense of the Third World of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Gov. Carter asked for criticism of that draft from half a dozen other leading Democrats including Averell Harriman, George Ball and Cyrus Vance. He ordered up and delivered another draft, which expressed a far different attitude toward "the hundreds of millions of people on this planet who are living in poverty and despair."

To be sure, these examples are distinctly limited. Reports of a closed system in the Carter entourage still abound. Some Carterites have predicted that the candidate will turn for advice chiefly to his fellow Southerners. It has, for example, even been suggested that Eugene Black, the former head of the World Bank and a Southerner, might be selected to deal with Near Eastern affairs, even though he is well-known as a chief victim of the seductive arts of the deceased Egyptian dictator, Gamal Abdel Nasser.

But on the record, at least so far, Gov. Carter has shown unexpected ability to move beyond the little band of brothers with whom he won the nomination. Though a definitive judgment on this highly critical issue cannot yet be made, Mr. Carter seems to be approaching the transition from a primary to presidential candidate with the same discipline and deliberation that he showed in developing his strategy for winning the nomination.

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The Contradictions in Carter's Budget Policy

NY Times
7/11/76

By EDWIN L. DALE Jr.

WASHINGTON—Is Jimmy Carter a big spender?

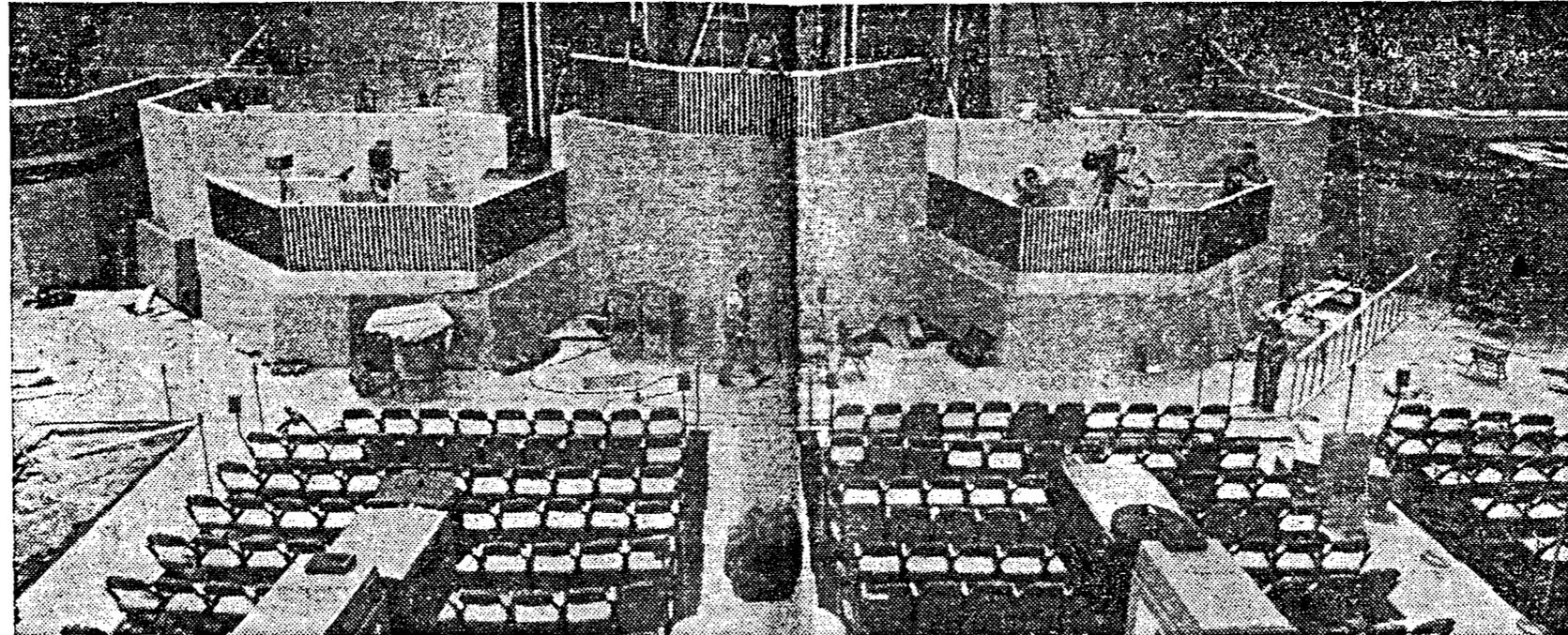
This is the most relevant question about his philosophy on economic matters. The prospective candidate of this week's Democratic convention has spoken in some detail on such questions as sweeping tax simplification and reform, standby powers to control or delay major price and wage increases, and devices to induce private employers to hire more workers or to retain them during recessions. All of these are important as parts of economic policy.

But the underlying state of the economy four or five years from now—how much inflation, how high the rate of interest, the sufficiency of capital formation for new investment—is likely to depend more than anything else on the magnitude of the Federal budget. Here Mr. Carter's various positions may be seen as contradictory.

On several occasions, including his economic policy paper issued in Pennsylvania in late April, Mr. Carter stated his aim of a balanced budget by 1979 "within the context of full employment."

In an interview with Fortune magazine he cited as a goal "a complete reorganization of the structure of government, the institution of zero-based budgeting which would screen out old and obsolescent programs, and a heavy emphasis toward a balancing of the budget."

There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of these goals. The questions arise from other positions of Mr. Carter on specific areas of Federal Government programs and spending. The most comprehensive statement of his positions has come in his presentation last month to the



The New York Times

Preparing Madison Square Garden for the Democratic Convention

Democratic platform committee (and the platform about to be adopted is very close to the Carter prescriptions).

There are no dollar figures for the various proposals. But the Carter list is much longer than generally realized. Here is a brief rundown:

EDUCATION: The Federal share of financing of public education, which was 10 percent in 1974, "must be increased."

TRANSPORTATION: "The task of rebuilding the existing transportation system is so massive, so important and so urgent that private investment will have to be supplemented with

substantial direct public investment" including "entirely new programs" in some areas such as the railroads and "increased investment levels" by government in local transit.

THE CITIES: There should be "countercyclical assistance" at times of substantial unemployment, an increase in general revenue sharing to allow for inflation and a new "public needs employment program funded by the Federal Government."

WELFARE: Although Mr. Carter opposes complete Federalization of welfare, he favors "one fairly uniform, nationwide payment" to be "funded in substantial part by the

Federal Government." The cities would be absolved of all welfare costs, with the entire burden to be borne by the state and Federal Governments.

HEALTH: He supports a "national health insurance program" which would be "financed by general tax revenues and employer-employee shared payroll taxes."

HOUSING: There should be "direct Federal subsidies and low interest loans to encourage the construction of lower and middle class housing" plus expansion of the present subsidized program of housing for the elderly.

SOCIAL SECURITY: Here there is an unspecific proposal for "an increase in benefits in proportion to earnings before retirement," which could be enormously expensive.

JOBS: Here there is a fairly long shopping list, including incentives for private sector jobs, funding the cost of on-the-job training by private business, doubling the public service jobs program from 300,000 to 600,000, and the new program of "public needs jobs" in such areas as housing rehabilitation and railroad repairs.

In addition to all of this, Mr. Carter supports, at least nominally, the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment

Act of 1976 whose cost would be large although impossible to precisely calculate. Support for the bill—whose aim is a 3 percent adult unemployment rate in four years—is prominent in the draft Democratic platform.

The prospective candidate, it is important to note, has explicitly opposed perhaps the key feature of the bill: making the Government, if necessary, the employer of last resort in order to make good the guarantee of a job for everyone.

Whatever finally emerges with respect to Humphrey-Hawkins, however, it is evident that Mr. Carter's commitments in all the other areas add up to a very expensive list.

What is to be made of this? Ronald Reagan took one view last week. He warned the voters in a television address: "You don't discipline an irresponsible and wasteful Congress by putting an indulgent friend in the White House."

Another view is that campaign promises are not to be taken too seriously and that Mr. Carter's stated aim of "attenuating the growth" of Federal spending as a proportion of the gross national product is probably a clearer expression of his philosophy.

Still another possibility is that Mr. Carter's much-touted revamping of the tax system could turn out to be a means of raising a good deal more money, which might make possible his many spending programs in a budget in balance or near balance. The difficulty with this proposition is that Congress has shown no inclination whatever to raise taxes except in wartime. For the last 30 years every peacetime tax change has been a net reduction.

As things now stand, the Carter positions taken together lead to a question mark, not an answer to the question of whether he is at bottom a big spender.

Thirty Questions

ESSAY

By William Safire

WASHINGTON—Eight years ago, in an acceptance speech, a nominee used a device that speechwriters call "the train whistle," as he spoke of his childhood: "I see another child . . . he hears the train go by at night and he dreams of faraway places."

The other night, the train whistle blew again: "Years ago, as a farm boy sitting outdoors with my family on the ground in the middle of the night . . . listening to the Democratic conventions in far-off cities . . ."

Such comparisons of Nixon and Carter campaign and rhetorical techniques touch a sensitive nerve among Carter men. On a street outside a convention party given by Rolling Stone, the newest Democratic house organ, a Carter insider felt called upon to excoriate this essayist, as is his right.

What infuriated Patrick Caddell, 26, the Carter campaign's chief pollster and one of the half-dozen men closest to the candidate, was any suggestion that the Carter staff formed a snap-to, self-righteous "Palace Guard" around their man comparable to the one regularly denounced in the Nixon years. Missing the point, Mr. Caddell snaps: "We're not a bunch of convicted felons."

Let's approach the same point in a different way. On March 8, 1976, Cambridge Reports Inc., which is 35 percent owned by Mr. Caddell, signed a contract with the Royal Saudi Arabian Embassy in Washington.

For \$50,000 per year, paid in advance, the Saudis receive four quarterly reports on American public opinion. This is two and one half times the rate to others of what Mr. Caddell calls a "subscription" to this service. The contract calls for "an oral presentation of the data," which was recently conducted by Mr. Caddell for the Saudis, and "personal consultations to assist sponsors to understand and employ the information contained. . . ."

For an additional \$30,000, the Saudis

have contracted with Mr. Carter's pollster for thirty questions of their choice to be added to their "report."

In addition to the total of \$80,000 from the Saudis, Mr. Caddell's firm receives \$80,000 from four American oil companies for his report: Exxon, Arco, Shell, and Sun. Main business-getter for Mr. Caddell is his McGovern campaign associate, Fred Dutton, who is himself on a Saudi annual retainer of \$100,000.

The fact that Mr. Caddell is an agent for a foreign principal (let us not use the sinister "foreign agent") is duly filed at the Department of Justice. Anticipating some conflict-of-interest criticism, Mr. Caddell wrote a letter which was forwarded to the Anti-Defamation League, making it appear that all he was selling was a subscription to a report, available to any buyer.

On the basis of that self-serving letter—which Mr. Caddell will not make public—Arnold Forster, general counsel for the A.D.L., last week said he saw "nothing in this that would disturb us" when called by a New York Post reporter obviously anxious to put the story in a light least damaging to Democrats.

A few things disturb me:

1. Mr. Carter's pollster claims his relationship with the Saudis long pre-dates his identification with the Carter campaign. The documents show otherwise: The Saudis knew they weren't hiring just another pollster.

2. Mr. Carter's pollster claims he is performing an "educational function" in teaching Arabs about American attitudes, and insists no Middle East politics are contained in his questions. In fact, the information could well be purchased to help lay the basis for

Arab propaganda in America, which is precisely why the law requires his registration with the Department of Justice.

3. Mr. Carter's pollster insists his \$160,000 in oil money in no way influences the questions posed or areas covered in his report, which the Presidential nominee reads. I am ready to believe him, since Mr. Caddell was ready to let me see the report on a restricted basis, which I would not accept—but is there no potential for abuse apparent?

4. Mr. Carter's pollster says, "the confidentiality of my client situation" keeps him from revealing the thirty questions his Arab clients hired him to ask. Can you imagine the editorial roar of "Coverup!" if a Nixon aide used that excuse?

5. Mr. Carter's pollster—off with the candidate and the staff on vacation this week—asserts forthrightly that his Carter colleagues know all about his Arab business arrangements, and even approve his plans to solicit other foreign clients.

Think about that: Jimmy Carter knows about the foreign representation of his pollster-aide-confidante, and he sees no potential conflict of interest. He can spy no possible use of the Carter association by a consultant to sell a service. He accepts his aide's explanation that poll-peddling for exorbitant fees to Arabs and others who may want a Carter connection is not "representation," because the press has not yet hollered about it. So much for "moral leadership."

Mr. Carter cannot see the appearance of impropriety because he knows his aides and himself to be honest, truthful, God-fearing, upright men who do not intend to do wrong. And that is why I blow the sad train whistle of recent experience: the bright young men most likely to fall into the greatest error are those who are certain they are 'olier than thou.

Washington Post

July 21

Marquis Childs

Glimpses of The Real Carter

NEW YORK—As hardened as one can become through years in this business of columning, there is always room for a surprise, and I think the following personal anecdote is relevant to the man who will run for president on the Democratic ticket.

It was my first face-to-face meeting with Jimmy Carter. My recollection is that it was some time in late February or March after the New Hampshire primary, and the Iowa caucuses had given him a lift from obscurity.

We were talking about issues and, as I recall it, specifically about full employment.

"When will you surface that, Governor?" I asked.

Solemnly, without a trace of the familiar grin, he replied:

"Well you see, I'm saving that for my inaugural address."

I thought this must be a joke.

Not for the speech in next week's pri-

"The Republican strategists will hammer away on the alleged duality of the Carter personality."

mary? Not for his acceptance speech when he was nominated by his party?

Not at all.

The peanut farmer from Plains, Ga., was in dead earnest. His step-by-step plans, carefully formulated and rarely disclosed to any but the intimate members of his staff, envisaged this ultimate step of the path of office for the presidency. And I do not doubt that he knew very well at that point what he meant to say in assuming the office.

Now that the nomination is an accomplished fact with the demonstration of how well he could keep the secret of his choice of Sen. Walter Mondale for vice presidency, Carter's stern decision-making quality is coming to the fore. The analogy with Richard Nixon is being suggested: a loner driven by ruthless ambition, surrounded by a handful of associates to whom he delegates faceless authority.

In my opinion it is far too early to reach any such conclusion. Certainly it took all the drive and the stamina to get to where Carter is today just as it took the incessant crisscrossing of the state of Georgia, shaking 600,000 hands, to win the governorship in 1970 after a crushing defeat four years earlier.

Many have found it difficult to work with Carter. Failure to match his standards can bring a cold rebuff, the anger that shows in those ice-blue eyes. Present and past associates have been talking about these traits.

Ironically, in view of his criticism of the lone-ranger style in the conduct of foreign policy, a parallel that comes to mind is Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who drives his closest associates to the brink with his demands.

In his jack-and-the-beanstalk career Carter has had few close friends. One of the few is Charles Kirbo, the Atlanta lawyer, whose wise counsel was invaluable in the Georgia phase of his career.

While he said he consulted with perhaps 40 persons about his choice for vice president, it is a good guess that Kirbo was one of the few with roots in Carter's past based on mutual respect.

Incidentally while he had been advertised as anti-Washington, the way he kept the secret of his choice was evidence of his understanding of Washington ways.

If he had told in advance only three or four persons around him, the secret would surely have leaked. By saving it, he kept the speculation going in a convention that tended otherwise to be ritualistic and dull.

The Republican strategists will hammer away on the alleged duality of the Carter personality. It was a favorite line of attack on Nixon: Will the real Richard Nixon please stand up? The intimation was that no reality existed back of the skillful facade of the seasoned—and ruthlessly ambitious—politician.

Will the real Jimmy Carter please stand up? Is it the twice-born Baptist who can preach love and compassion with true fervor? Or is it the tough relentless office-seeker with a pious front of "religiosity?"

In my opinion the duality is false. Like every man with a driving ambition Carter is a complex personality. Being a loner is almost a prerequisite to success in the toughest of all games.

It may sound odd to compare the peanut farmer with the president of Princeton University but a close parallel at this moment is with Woodrow Wilson. Wilson was, in his own way, deeply religious.

Carter's meticulous thought processes, his careful deliberation, his knowledge of just where he wants to go and how, compare with the same qualities in Wilson. The presidency is a long gamble and the nomination of Carter is a first step in the greatest of those gambles.

A Pragmatist

Labels Won't Stick on the Democrats' Nominee

 By CHARLES MOHR

PLAINS, Ga.—When a huge majority of the 3,016 Democratic convention delegates vote Wednesday night to nominate Jimmy Carter for President, some will do so with reservations. Liberals, especially, may still be troubled by the man they must now rally around.

Finding a single ideological label for the former Georgia governor is not easy, and he asserts that labels do not fit him. Several times he has said he was a conservative on spending and a liberal on human welfare; Mr. Carter did not seem to recognize or acknowledge that there may be an inherent contradiction in that statement.

Mr. Carter, who is endowed with at least a normal political ego, might enjoy being thought of as a personality too complex to define. The longer one looks at the evidence, however, the less true that seems to be. His record indicates that Mr. Carter is as conservative—or as liberal—as he needs to be at any moment or in any given political situation.

In his 1970 gubernatorial campaign, Mr. Carter unashamedly courted the conservative vote in Georgia, charging that his opponent, Carl Sanders, had sold out to "the ultra liberals."

In his sporadic comments on the Vietnam war, Mr. Carter seemed to try to avoid stirring up his often hawkish constituents, and committed himself to support a conflict which was in its late stages and seen as a mistake by most Americans when he took office in 1971. In general, Mr. Carter is a strong liberal on foreign policy questions.

There are a few mystifying footnotes in his record as governor. After the Pentagon Papers were published, raising a national uproar, Mr. Carter told a press conference that he had called a Senator to discuss "the enactment of Federal legislation that would make news organizations criminally liable" for such publications.

When Spiro Agnew was under fire, before he had plea bargained his way out of the Vice Presidency, Mr. Carter told reporters he had telephoned Mr. Agnew, who "needed to hear a friendly voice," and urged him not to resign under pressure.

Mr. Carter was usually critical, sometimes bitterly, of President Nixon. But he also seemed to recognize that in Georgia there was considerable sympathy for the beleaguered President until the final stages of the Watergate crisis. Mr. Carter described his own feeling as an "unfavorable reaction" to early demands that Mr. Nixon resign.

From Aug. 12 to 18, 1973, Mr. Carter made one of his periodic "feedback tours" of Georgia to elicit opinions from citizens, but also to explain himself. A reporter who went on the trip wrote that Mr. Carter had described himself as "a strong conservative," a "conservative businessman" and as one who had vowed to return the Democratic party to "moderate to conservative voters."

Yet, in fact, Mr. Carter was by no means a conservative Southern governor. He displayed enlightened moral leadership on the race issue. And there is no question that he learned a lot. He began to chide judges and lawyers about the class bias in American law that sometimes subtly subverts equal justice. He began to argue, as he still does today, that those in government are almost always powerful and affluent and that "their families don't suffer when government makes a mistake" although the weak and politically mute do.

At a Southern political conference in 1974 he courageously distanced himself from other governors who were denouncing "welfare cheaters." Mr. Carter said, "I used to think that all welfare recipients were absolutely worthless, and I guess some—black and white—are. But put yourself in the positions of having three or four children and trying to support them on \$1 a day per person . . . it is absolutely ridiculous to assume that all poor people are lazy."

As Candidate, a Different Face

Of course, Mr. Carter showed a considerably different political visage as a full time Presidential candidate after January, 1975. But he certainly did not run as a liberal, and felt that 1976 would be a disastrous year for liberals. Nor, significantly, did he run as the prophet of a new and personally devised ideology.

Perhaps the most significant thing he said during the primaries was that in the long campaign he had learned from voters and "what we learned we gave back to them in a political program that reflected what they wanted, not what we wanted for them." This candid admission that Mr. Carter believes in saying what people want to hear may not be blameworthy, but it does not conform with evangelical liberalism.

Mr. Carter has also shown an essentially mechanical bias in politics. The most consistent theme of his campaign was not programmatic at all. It was a pledge of "competence," of good management. He has never taken the populist view that structural changes in society itself were desirable. Instead, he has concentrated on promising "a complete reorganization" of the structure of administration and of bureaucracy.

Whenever Mr. Carter came close to embracing liberal dogmas, on subjects ranging from nuclear energy to full employment, he almost always carefully qualified his remarks to satisfy some conservative objections.

Mr. Carter clearly wants not only to be a good President, but to be remembered as a great one, if elected. That will probably require an activist, aggressive and innovative legislative program. Even if the rhetoric remains careful and middle-of-the-road, the direction may be leftward. However, like the convention delegates who vote Wednesday, the country will have to wait and see.

Charles Mohr is a Washington-based correspondent of The New York Times.

The Carter vision

When someone registered surprise at the flattering epitaph of a known scoundrel, Dr. Samuel Johnson wisely observed that "a writer of lapidary inscriptions is not upon oath."

No doubt Dr. Johnson's wise saying fits political speeches generally and the acceptance speeches of new presidential nominees especially. A freshly chosen nominee, addressing a party ready to march and hungry for spoil after eight years, is no more on oath than epitaph writers or platform writers. A generous grant of poetic license is assumed.

We assume, then, that the first and proper purpose in Governor Jimmy Carter's mind last Thursday evening was to thank the Democratic delegates for their confidence, and then to play back to them the familiar old melodies of the Democratic litany. For, let us remember, acceptance speeches are also occasions of reassurance. The disgruntled must be grunted, suspicions of heresy and fears of schism quieted. All this Governor Carter did most effectively.

At the risk of seeming literal-minded, however, we must say that Governor Carter revealed quite a bit about the kind of candidate he is and the kind of President he proposes to be. And some of what he revealed must be mildly surprising to those who understood him to be the main preacher of the so-called "anti-Washington" message this year.

For one thing, he stationed himself solidly in the tradition of the activist Democratic Presidents since Roosevelt, which is to say among the unblushing wielders of national power. In his characterizations of the Presidents of that tradition there is little that is unorthodox. Thus FDR "inspired and restored this nation in its darkest hours," and Harry Truman "showed us that a common man could be an uncommon leader." John Kennedy was "brave" and "young," while Lyndon Johnson, "a great-hearted Texan," surpassed all the rest in advancing "the causes of human rights." Governor Carter might have cribbed all this — though doubtless he didn't — from any old yellowed brochure at the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee.

A second theme, congenial to the picture that regular Democrats have of themselves, is that Democratic presidencies are closer to "the people." We counted no fewer than six references to the virtues of the people, and we may have missed one or two.

No presidential candidate will lose votes on that line of thought. But as columnist Michael Novak observed in these pages Sunday, there is something disquieting in this slavish tribute to the moral infallibility of Demos. It is collective guilt turned on its head, so that we come out with something like collective innocence. The second may be as mythic as the first.

Is it really quite true to say, for instance, that tragedies like Vietnam, Cambodia, Watergate and CIA miscreancy "could have been avoided if our government had reflected the sound judgment, good common sense and high moral character of the American people"? It would be nice to think so. But it would be mass self-delusion. In the first place, these tragedies resulted from differing conceptions of what was right and moral. But in any case there is no evidence that they were thrust upon us by a scheming

elite without our consent or complicity. If they were, to cite one major embarrassment, where were all the dissenting votes — where the public clamor — when the Tonkin Gulf Resolution whizzed all but unchallenged through the U. S. Senate in August 1964?

We would not labor the point, except that it seems to be one of Mr. Carter's principal themes — the theme of intrinsic public innocence confounded by arrogant leaders. But we, the governed, cannot be absolved of ethical responsibility for what our leaders do for us and to us — unless you believe, as Governor Carter apparently does not, that our institutions for processing and registering public assent to government policy are all out of whack and need major overhauling.

In some respects, for all its polish, Governor Carter's acceptance speech also seemed longer on inspiration than on means and measures. There are not a few passages in which, on sober reinspection, ambition overwhelms the known possibilities of action, and sound overbears sense.

How, for instance, does Mr. Carter propose to "release civil servants from bureaucratic chaos," especially where the chaos is of their making? What is a "complete overhaul" of the tax system, and what features make it not merely imperfect or inequitable but — milder words failing — "a disgrace to the human race"? Do faces flush over this disgrace in Katmandu and Kiev?

What, also, is "universal voter registration," and what entrenchments on the prerogatives of the states would it entail, whatever it is? Just whose "system of economics . . . sees value or virtue in unemployment"? Isn't it rather the case that while everyone sees the virtue of full employment, everyone also sees the vice of "inflationary spirals" and differs as to how to strike the right balance? And last but hardly least, how many of the laudable programs mentioned by Governor Carter — national health insurance, for instance — can be achieved, and how, together with that "balanced budget" which the governor (along with everyone else who ever ran for President) is "determined to see"?

We started by saying that acceptance speeches are not uttered under oath. As the campaign develops, we trust that Governor Carter means to outline the means and measures, as well as the goals, he has in mind. A few price tags would help, too. But it may be spoilsport to ask too many questions now.

The questions will be asked, however, and it is a fact that specific proposals tend to be as divisive as visions are unifying. Properly so.

The elaborate discussion of heavy issues is by and large a waste of time in primaries — that is not what the voters seem to be looking for. But presidential campaigns are another story. There, substance is the thing; and substance invites choosing sides. Governor Carter will find an attentive audience as he begins to specify the policies and proposals that underlie his vision of love translated into "simple justice." We are willing to take Mr. Carter's word for it now that justice can be simple. But it often turns out to be complicated, and so it may be when Governor Carter turns, this autumn, to the fine print.

CS Monitor July 21

Roscoe Drummond

Carter: conservative, liberal, or both?

Washington
Nearly every Democratic liberal who is supporting his party's presidential nominee, isn't quite sure that Jimmy Carter is a liberal. And nearly every Democratic conservative isn't quite sure that he's a conservative.

It is an intriguing uncertainty. Though campaigning for the presidency for 19 months, making the long trek through 30 contested primaries, the uncertainty appears to linger with a large number of Democrats.

It is puzzling how Carter could simultaneously win substantial Democratic liberal voters and substantial Democratic conservative voters without alienating either.

It doesn't puzzle Governor Carter. I put the question to him in a conversation a few days ago here in Washington. He considers it quite understandable that he was able to appeal successfully to voters who want less government and those who want more government, to vot-

ers who want less stress on civil rights and those who want more, to blacks and whites, to blue-collar workers and to white-collar workers.

Carter's view is that individually most Americans are not either all conservative or all liberal, that they really don't like to be ticketed ideologically. He put it this way:

"Most Americans, I find, are not reacting in terms of traditional ideology. In their own thinking on concrete issues they are neither totally conservative nor totally liberal. The issues are more complex than that. Voters are more complex than that.

"This is why I feel some of my opponents in the primaries made a mistake in saying, in effect, 'vote for me because I am a liberal' and thus seeking to appeal to them on narrow ideological grounds. Most are both conservative and liberal and so am I."

Carter can cite considerable evidence from

his own campaign to justify this point. He has identified himself as conservative on many fiscal matters and liberal in dealing with human problems. He proposes to rigorously reexamine outdated, costly federal programs. He doesn't think that appropriating a lot of money is automatically the best solution to everything. He is against overspending and repeatedly affirms that he will aim to get a balanced federal budget in four years. He proposes zero-based budgeting, which means that government departments can't just take last year's budget and add to it, but must justify new spending from zero up. He seeks to slim down the federal bureaucracy. These are conservative positions.

At the same time Carter supports government assistance to reduce residual unemployment, a national health insurance program, and aid to distressed cities. These and others are liberal positions.

In foreign affairs Carter would seek to make

detente more of a two-way street, would use all our advantages, including withholding or granting grain sales, in negotiating with the Soviet Union. He told John Dillin of The Christian Science Monitor that in dealing with the Soviets his policy would be to "get tough." It seems clear that he would conduct an activist foreign policy with a strong and large leadership role for America in behalf of the free world. These are conservative positions.

He would negotiate in good faith to try to halt the U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms race and would hold out a helping hand to the "third-world" nations. These are liberal positions.

No correspondent can foresee with certainty how a nominee will operate in all particulars when he gets to the White House, but it seems clear that Jimmy Carter is a more moderate, centrist Democratic candidate than any since John W. Davis ran against Warren Harding in 1920.



'Why Not the Best?' The Enigma of Jimmy Carter Is Real

BY DAVID S. BRODER

NEW YORK—In his autobiography, "Why Not the Best?," an awkward, engaging volume that is perhaps more revealing than its author intended, Jimmy Carter tells the story of his boyhood experience, selling bags of boiled peanuts from his father's farm to the townspeople of Plains, Ga.

"Even at that early age of not more than six years," he writes, "I was able to distinguish very clearly between the good people and the bad people of Plains. The good people, I thought, were the ones who bought boiled peanuts from me!"

By that criterion, the Democratic convention is filled with "good people." They have not only bought peanuts, they have bought the peanut vendor. But just what is included in that package is by no means certain—even to the delegates themselves.

A Washington Post survey of delegates found that on issues ranging from busing to the Central Intelligence Agency to oil company divestiture, majorities of those voting for Carter in Madison Square Garden said either that they did not know his position or that they thought he agreed with them—even when those delegates disagreed with each other.

That finding precisely paralleled earlier surveys of primary election voters. It showed that they, too, saw Carter through the prism of their own prejudices—a smiling reflection of whatever policies they cared to project onto him.

On Meet the Press last Sunday, Carter filed a disclaimer, saying, like Henry Higgins in "My Fair Lady," that he was "just an ordinary man," or, to put it in Carter's words, "no more of an enigma or a mystery than other people." That does him less than justice. There are few people who can match Carter when it comes to weaving a spell with words. He has been called "fuzzy" by his critics, but the truth is that he uses language with extraordinary precision of effect—but not to clarify meaning.

His intricate sentences weave in and out of an issue, each strand of words spelling reassurance to part of the audience. A student of psychology and learning techniques, Carter employs the principles of selective perception and reinforcement—for example, letting crit-

ics of abortion focus on his statement that "I think abortions are wrong," but nourishing their opponents' hopes by adding, a few phrases later, "I am opposed to any constitutional amendment" in this area.

But there are paradoxes within paradoxes of Carter that make one believe he is psyching himself as much as he is his audiences when he wraps the cocoons of words around the hard realities of choices that a politician—or a President—must make.

He is a man who preaches the goodness of America and its people, and decries the evil of its government and politicians—as if the latter were not a reflection of the former.

He is a man who speaks for the restoration of values and the maintenance of institutions—the family, the neighborhood, the community. But his own career represents a relentless upward thrust from his rural roots and a restless urge to restructure every government where he works to the design of the new tenant—Jimmy Carter.

He speaks with extraordinary compassion of the plight of the poor, the uneducated and the victims of prejudice, and sometimes talks of redistributing power in a way that would let the victims of our society prescribe their own compensation.

But if his sociology is that of his humanitarian mother, his economics are those of his businessman father. There is nothing in his approach to the relationship of government and the corporations and banks that would cause John Connally to blink.

Then there are the ultimate paradoxes of personality that a journalist can only note, and not explain.

Why, for example, is the same Jimmy Carter who speaks so easily of the redemptive power of the love of God and man so very quick to ascribe the worst of motives to politicians who chance to stand in his way?

Why does a man who wants to control his destiny by advance planning—to memorize his speeches, computerize his schedules and

analyze every factor in his environment—seek the one job in this world where such total control is least attainable?

How would a person whose motto is "I do not intend to lose" react to an office where both the Constitution and political reality dictate that, more often than not, his hopes and designs will be frustrated by inertia, by opposition and by sheer chance?

Deny it as he may, the enigma of Jimmy Carter is real.

As James P. Gannon noted in his Wall Street Journal profile, Carter was not the kind of governor that his campaign had led voters to expect, and he probably would not be the President they bargained for.

The new leader of the Democrats is a man of unpredictable consequences for this country. They may be good or bad, but they are not certain. And the fact that he could be—no, will be—something that not even he may suspect is what makes his elevation so portentous.

LA TIMES July 14

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TRB From Washington

The Dichotomous Mr. Carter

WASHINGTON — Jimmy Carter has "a streak of ugly meanness — an egotistical disposition to run right over people . . . a disposition to be a sore head;" that is the recent testimony of respected columnist Joseph Kraft.

He has "a vein of vindictiveness" say the syndicated columnist team of Rowland Evans and Robert Novak; they quote "Carter's old enemies back in Georgia" as declaring that along with intelligence, discipline and dedication there is "vindictiveness extraordinary even for a politician."



So he is mean and vindictive, and likely to be the next president of the United States! How did we get into this fix? But wait a bit, here is contrary evidence:

Sensitive and compassionate analyst Anthony Lewis of the New York Times says Jimmy Carter "really does see himself fighting entrenched power, the status quo. He instinctively identifies with the victims of official abuse, the poor, the disadvantaged." Yes, says Lewis, "He cares about the powerless in society — genuinely, I am convinced."

And here is an unusual character witness, eccentric iconoclast Hunter S. Thompson ("Hells Angels," "Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail") writing in Rolling Stone (of all places) June 3, "my first instinctive reaction to Jimmy Carter . . . I liked him" and who notes an extemporaneous speech Carter made in May 1974 to big wigs in Georgia attacking special privilege; it was a "king hell bastard of a speech" (I assume this is praise); to which Thompson adds, "I have never heard a sustained piece of political oratory that impressed me more."

Let's drop Carter and look at the setting. It's one of the most astonishing political years in history. "The United States has the most elaborate, complex, and prolonged formal system of nominating candidates for chief executives in the world," say William Keech and Donald Matthews (Brookings: "The Party's Choice") A system which the late Clinton Rossiter called "a fantastic blend of the solemn and the silly." And this year more than usual.

For eight years we have had split government in Washington — White House one party, Congress another, something no other nation could survive: and before Kennedy and Johnson, Ike had six years of split government.

Now there's near stalemate in Washington with Ford's 49 vetoes. Political parties are in decay. Loyalty has so declined that that when Richard Nixon wins every state but Massachusetts he still faces a Democratic Senate and House (first time since Zachary Taylor). Republicans are now weaker than at any time since the Depression — probably since the party started in the Civil War.

The national mood? Cynical and penitential; Vietnam and Watergate aren't mentioned but obtrude their frustration everywhere. In 1950 three-quarters of the people thought their government was run primarily for the benefit "of the people" (17 per cent said "big interests") now only 38 per cent think so and 53 per cent say "big interests."

Who would have thought that the Panama Canal could be an issue; that an incumbent President could be seriously

challenged; that in 30 dreary primaries only about a third of those eligible to vote would vote; or that an almost unknown former governor and peanut farmer from Georgia could be front-runner for President of the United States?

In 1972 George McGovern revealed to astonished politicians how vulnerable modern parties are to penetration by well organized and strongly activated groups in primaries where only a minority vote.

In 1976 there are more primaries and direct Federal financial aid to ambitious political individuals (not parties), and Jimmy Carter has shown how porous such parties are to penetration by a highly motivated individual whose cause is ambiguous (unless, indeed, "love and "anti-Washington" are causes) and who offers the sullen nation a fresh face and a striking personality, blazoned by the all-powerful news media.

Jimmy Carter planned it that way. I first met him in the snows of New Hampshire last January and liked him and was astonished by him. I enjoyed the calculated impudence with which he told what he planned to say in his Inaugural, and reacted with the expected astonishment. I never met a candidate like that before and it was swell copy. The confrontation of southern and New England cultures was wonderful, too; when the YMCA-type clean-cut young man at Durham made the reticent Yankee ladies cringe by asking Carter straight out, had he been saved? — and Carter answered quietly that, yes, he was a "born-again Christian" and what was the next question?

Carter started his campaign in September, 1972 while still governor and after his term ended worked full-time at it. He saw the vulnerable place in the primary system was right at the start. It didn't matter if only a fraction of a fraction voted nor if the margin was miniscule, the point was to get the headline "Jimmy Carter Wins." He did that in the precinct caucuses of Iowa, first of the year, and in the tiny state of New Hampshire. Next, of course, he had to knock Wallace out in Florida, March 9, and he did. He was launched. The press grabbed him. In her remarkable series in the New Yorker, Elizabeth Drew tells how it was done, and her cautious assessment of this "enigmatic and hidden man" who is asking us to take such a big gamble. He can talk about "love" and be tough and even ruthless. Was that a grin, a natural honest-to-God grin, he was giving her at one point (not the toothy smile)?

"It seems to be a natural grin by someone who might, after all, have a sense of humor about himself. "It is odd", she reflects, "to spend time considering whether a grin just might be natural." Yes, she notes, Carter may have "a certain mean streak."

George McGovern fired his left-wing political operative Alan Baron, who was quoted as calling Carter "a positive evil, surrounded by a staff committee with no ideals, like Haldeman and Ehrlichman." This sounds silly and venomous to me. I like him and still do. James T. Wooten put it negatively in the New York Times: ". . . He is not a liberal, not a conservative, not a racist, not a man of long governmental experience, not a religious zealot, not a Southerner of stereotypical dimensions," and from such negative deductions, he says, many have concluded "that Jimmy Carter is not entirely unacceptable as a presidential candidate."

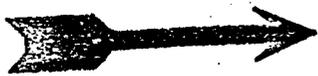
(TRB is the pen name of
Strout, long-time
correspondent for The
Monitor.)



Steven Brill

JIMMY CARTER'S PATHETIC LIES

The heroic image is made of brass



Times Magazine
March 1976

McGovern

AS WE FLEW from Mississippi to Georgia in a chartered jet one night last December, Jimmy Carter settled back and casually volunteered the most revealing statement of our four hours of conversation. "You know what McGovern's biggest mistake was?" he asked, and continued without waiting for an answer: "He never should have made the Vietnam war an issue." I mentioned that the war might have been one of the issues that gave birth to the McGovern campaign, and not vice versa. Carter stared back blankly and said, "That's not how it works."

Carter says he decided to run for the 1976 Democratic Presidential nomination in September of 1972, when he was less than halfway through his term as governor of Georgia—before the revelations of Watergate, the energy crisis, the fall of South Vietnam, the economic downturn, and most other events that should shape the '76 race. These issues, however, were irrelevant to Carter's decision, because he knew he'd run on personality. So far he hasn't changed his mind.

Sincerity first

AT 4:30 IN THE AFTERNOON in the Admiral Benbow Inn in Jackson, Mississippi, Carter sits opposite a dozen seventeen-year-olds, asking them to help him become President. Each teenager is a leader in a neighboring high school, and the group is there because Mississippi law allows seventeen-year-olds to vote in the January 24 delegate selection caucuses if they will be eighteen by Election Day. Carter's local organizers, who have been working the state for months, are counting on the students

to flood the otherwise sparsely attended caucuses with their friends.

"I grow peanuts over in Georgia," Carter begins softly, his blue eyes finding each of them one by one. "I'm the first child in my daddy's family who ever had a chance." His voice is humble yet proud. "I used to get up at four in the morning to pick peanuts. Then I'd walk three miles along the railroad track to deliver them. My house had no running water or electricity. . . . But I made it to the U.S. Naval Academy and became a nuclear physicist under Admiral Rickover. . . . Then I came back home to the farm and got interested in community affairs. . . . In 1970 I became governor of Georgia with a campaign that appealed to all people. I reorganized the state government and proved that government could provide love and compassion to all people, black and white—because I believe in it. . . . Now I want to be your President, so I can give you a government that's honest and that's filled with love, competence, and compassion. . . . And when I am your President," he grins, his eyes lighting up now even more, "I hope you'll come see me. Please don't leave me up there in the White House all by myself." After ~~proclaiming a first ballot victory at Madison Square Garden~~ with matter-of-fact certainty and blandly answering a few questions about energy and foreign policy, he closes with a request that "If you have any questions or advice for me, please write. Just put 'Jimmy Carter, Plains, Georgia' on the envelope, and I'll get it. I open every letter myself and read them all. . . . One more thing," he continues, his voice starting to quiver. "If I ever lie to you"—his voice drops off; he waits about three seconds—"or if I ever mislead you"—two more seconds—"please don't vote for me."

When the meeting is over, Carter, having

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been introduced to the students before his speech, remembers all their names.

The kids are now Carter converts. One of them, Blake Bell, explains later: "I'm going to help him because he's totally sincere, and he's not a politician."

Mississippi teen-agers aren't the only ones for whom the personality pitch works. "I'm for him because of his total sincerity," explains William vanden Heuvel, a former Robert Kennedy aide who has been associated with liberal causes and candidates in New York. Four days after Carter's session with the students in Jackson, vanden Heuvel introduced him to liberal Democratic activists at a Manhattan cocktail party as "someone who has stood with us on the right side in every fight that's been important to us over the last two decades."

To vanden Heuvel and, apparently, his audience, it didn't matter that Carter led the stop-McGovern forces at the 1972 Democratic convention, nominated Scoop Jackson there, and urged a month before that George Wallace be the Vice-Presidential nominee; that he has always opposed abortion reform, busing, and, until this year, a federal takeover of welfare; that he favored right-to-work laws; that he supports the death penalty and preventive detention; that he opposed federal aid to bail out New York City; or that in 1972 he sponsored a resolution at the Democratic Governors' Conference urging all Democratic Presidential candidates not to make the Vietnam war an issue, because, as he explained to me, "We should have appreciated and supported Nixon's efforts." What did matter, beyond the delight the partygoers seemed to take in having discovered a real live "enlightened Southerner," was Carter's intoxicating sincerity—as evidenced by the low-key voice, the Kennedy-like grin, the sixteen-hour person-to-person campaign days, and the way he looks you in the eye. What also mattered was that he looked and talked like a winner.

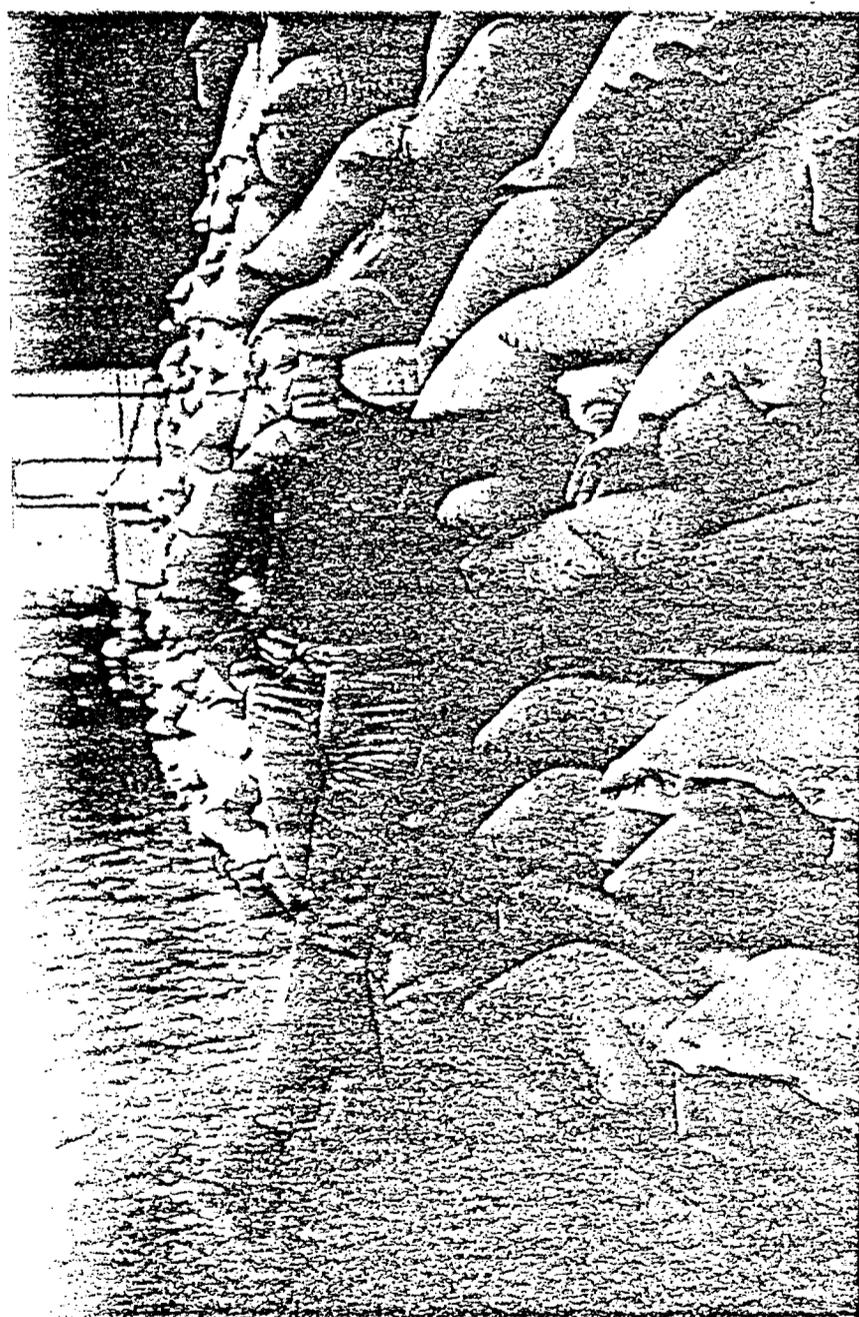
Nationwide, this is his appeal. "Carter is what got me interested in Carter," explains Jim Langford, his Southern states organizer. "He's smart, he's honest, and he's going to win." "No issue brought me here," says Rick Hutcheson, Carter's stone-faced, brilliant twenty-three-year-old delegate hunter. "Just the fact that he's very intelligent and that he's going to win. He can move where I think the Democratic Party is moving." "He's just totally honest," explains Lisa Bordeaux, a twenty-two-year-old who's volunteering full time for Carter in Meridian, Mississippi. "And that's what we need. He's better than any politician."

This is where we are in 1976. The activists want a winner. The rest of the country wants a saint. As a nation we are tired of fighting over issues like Vietnam or busing, fed up with corruption and an economy that won't spring back, and fearful that the humiliation in Vietnam and the energy shortage spell the end of our ability to control the rest of the world. So we yearn for a hero—an honest, sincere, smart, fresh face who can worry about all of these things for us.

Carter seems to understand this better than the other candidates. He more than anyone is convincing people as disparate as Bill vanden Heuvel and Lisa Bordeaux that he is the totally sincere antipolitician they're looking for. It's easy to believe, for instance, that he really does, as he told the high-school students, open all his own mail. I did, until his press secretary told me the next day that the mail sent to Plains, Georgia, is forwarded to the Atlanta headquarters.

This is the paradox of Jimmy Carter. His is the most sincerely insincere, politically antipo-

Vietnam
ALSO
Nixon
ALSO
GORETA
12/2/76



Andrew Schneider / Black Star

Gubernatorial Campaign

litical, and slickly unslick campaign of the year. Using an image that is a hybrid of honest, simple Abe Lincoln and charming, idealistic John Kennedy, he has packaged himself to take the idol-seekers for a long ride.

IN 1970, WHEN CARTER RAN for governor of Georgia against former Gov. Carl Sanders, the package was different. According to his media consultant, Gerald Rafshoon, the campaign slogan, "Isn't it time somebody spoke up for you?" was "directed at the state's rural working people. We were running against the powerful special interests, the bureaucrats, and people in cities." The campaign may have been anti-special interests, but it was also anti-mainstream Democratic politics. One Carter television commercial featured a Sanders campaign button; when a rag was rubbed over it, Sanders's face turned into Hubert Humphrey's, as a voice warned that Sanders was really a Humphrey Democrat. On August 22, Carter announced that the next day he would hold a press conference at which he would reveal information so damaging to Sanders that Sanders would be forced to withdraw from the race. What he did give the press the next day was a copy of a picture of Sanders and Humphrey on the same platform, which, Carter charged, proved that Sanders was ready to sell out the interests of Georgians to the "ultra-liberals." On the same day he also accused Sanders of selling out to the "big unions" by favoring repeal of right-to-work laws.

On June 21, 1970, Carter told a Georgia reporter that if he received the Democratic nomination for governor, "I would run as a local Georgia conservative Democrat. . . I'm basically a redneck." Nine weeks later, he went out of his way to deny having said that the Supreme Court decisions on school integration and other issues were "morally and legally correct."

In the runoff primary, Carter received only 7 percent of the black vote, against 93 percent for Sanders. His appeal to black voters had not been helped by his well-publicized visit to a whites-only private academy five days before primary day. The school had been established to avoid school integration, and when Carter told the press that he was there to "reassure Georgians of my support for private education," the implication was clear. Carter also ran with a promise to invite George Wallace to speak before the state legislature, and with the endorsement of Roy Harris, a virulent segregationist who had run Wallace's Presidential campaigns in Georgia, and who had organized the state's White Citizens' Council.

Personal attacks on his opponent were as much a Carter trademark in 1970 as the grin and low-key, living-room campaigning are to

day. Carter called the former governor "Cuff Links Carl," and one of his TV spots showed a man wearing huge cuff links stepping out of a private jet and accepting a bucket of cash from another prosperous-looking man. Repeatedly, Carter told his audiences that the issue of the campaign was "Sanders's integrity and how he got rich so fast." (Carter had so built up his peanut warehousing business by then that he may have been wealthier than Sanders.) Carter also charged that Sanders had promised to do favors for his campaign contributors. He never substantiated the charge, and, indeed, refused to make his own list of contributors public. (Today Carter says that the list of those who gave him money in 1970 is still unavailable.)

Beginning in June, Carter repeatedly claimed that he had a "list" of occasions on which Sanders, as governor, had used his office for personal financial gain. Finally, on August 26, he gave reporters the "Carter proof packet" of charges against Sanders. The list, it turned out, consisted of an allegation that Sanders had interceded on behalf of a friend with the Federal Communications Commission. That allegation was never substantiated, nor in fact was there any charge of illegality or personal gain.

Perhaps the lowest blow was dealt by an anonymous leaflet which showed Sanders, who had been a part owner of the Atlanta Hawks basketball team, being given a champagne shampoo by two of the team's black players during a victory celebration. The leaflet was mailed statewide to white Baptist ministers and white barbershops. Carter denies any knowledge of the leaflet, saying, "The campaign was not involved in any way." However, Ray Abernathy, an Atlanta public-relations man who worked for Carter's media director, Rafshoon, in 1970 says, "We distributed that leaflet. It was prepared by Bill Pope, who was then Carter's press secretary. It was part of an operation we called 'the stink tank.'" He also says that Carter's current campaign manager, Hamilton Jordon, was "directly involved in the mailing. He and Rafshoon masterminded it." Pope, who no longer works for Carter, confirmed Abernathy's allegation that the campaign was involved but denied his own role. Rafshoon and Jordon deny any knowledge of the mailing.

In the 1970 primary, there were three major candidates: Carter, who was the conservative; Sanders, who appealed to white moderates and liberals and to blacks; and C. B. King, a black lawyer who appealed essentially to blacks. Clearly, King took votes away from Sanders. Abernathy also alleged that "Carter's campaign financed King's media advertising. I personally prepared all of King's radio ads while I was on Rafshoon's payroll and supervised the production. And I helped channel money to the con-

"Jimmy Carter's campaign is the most sincerely insincere, politically anti-political, and slickly unslick one of the year."

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Welfare
Reform

\$13,135,552 in the last fiscal year that he had control of the budget—which means he recorded a net depletion of \$17,814,544.

Consistently, Carter talks, as he did one night in a Mississippi living room, about a plan under which "I achieved welfare reform by opening up 136 day-care centers for the retarded and using welfare mothers to staff them. Instead of being on welfare, these thousands of women now have jobs and self-respect. You should see them bathing and feeding the retarded children. They're the best workers we have in the state government." This sounds like an excellent program, and, indeed, Carter was praised for it in *The New York Times Magazine*. However, while Carter did establish 134 community centers for retarded children, the idea of welfare recipients staffing them remains only an idea. According to Derril Gay, deputy director of the state Mental Health Division, "There is no such program. . . . I'm not sure what the *Times* article was referring to. . . . No one has been taken off welfare and put in any mental health job." Betty Bellairs, director of the division of benefits payments, agrees, saying that there is "definitely no such program." Jody Powell commented that "if Carter ever mentioned such a program, I guess he was mistaken." While I accompanied him, he made the mistake before five audiences in three days.

The other aspects of his record Carter mentioned while I traveled with him were an upgrading of rehabilitation programs in the prisons and a strict merit system for cabinet and judicial appointments. Both claims are essentially true.

THE TANTALIZING promises Carter is making are potentially more disillusioning than the myths he is floating about his past record. They are vague enough to please everyone—for now—and Carter hypnotizes his audience with them so effectively that most seem to go away convinced that all his pledges will materialize about four hours after his inauguration.

For example, he promises he'll cut the number of federal agencies from 1,900 to 200. As he says it you can almost see the red tape being slashed and the briefcases floating down the Potomac. But when I asked him to name a few, or even one, of the 1,700 agencies he'd abolish, he said he hadn't worked out the details yet. Similarly, although he talks passionately about wiping out government waste and says that the Pentagon "is by far the most wasteful bureaucracy," he told me that the Pentagon budget could be cut only "about 5 percent."

Carter raises his voice when he talks about taxes. "The tax system is a disgrace to the human race," he told a group of municipal labor-

ers. "I believe all income should be treated the same. It's a scandal that a businessman can deduct his \$50 lunch but a worker can't deduct the sandwich in his lunch pail." This sounds like populist tax reform, including, for example, an end to preferential treatment of capital gains and a limit to business entertainment deductions. But, again, when asked later about specifics, Carter said he hadn't yet worked out the details and that he couldn't be sure what he'd do with capital gains or entertainment deductions. Three days later, he responded to a question at a Manhattan cocktail party by saying he'd consider taxing capital gains the same as other income. When the audience moaned, he smiled and said, "I said I'd consider it, not that I'd do it."

Carter's positions on specific issues are, therefore, difficult to determine from his campaign pitches. But, when forced to articulate them during a long interview, he emerges, essentially, as a conservative Democrat, although there are enough exceptions to make him difficult to classify.

He feels that "détente has been pushed too far," and that the Russians have gotten the better of us in every deal we've made with them, including the joint space flight. His main foreign-policy advisers are Dean Rusk and Zbigniew Brzezinski, and his chief military adviser is his former boss, Adm. Hyman G. Rickover. He never publicly opposed the Vietnam war until 1971, and even now, he defines it as a mistake of strategy, not of policy or morality. In 1972, as noted, he argued that the Democrats should support the Nixon Vietnam policy. He feels that "the right thing to do is to go and fight even if you think a war is immoral," and that the CIA has been "crippled" by the recent investigations and revelations.

Carter's welfare-reform plan, he says, would cut off aid, now given under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, to children of able-bodied parents who won't work, and he thinks chronic alcoholics or drug addicts should be considered able-bodied. His tax-reform plan includes the elimination of "double taxation" of corporations by abolishing the corporate income tax. He favors capital punishment "in some cases" and preventive detention of "habitual criminals," and he thinks the *Miranda* Supreme Court decision limiting criminal confessions contained "too many technicalities."

Carter said he would be against any job-opportunity plan that required the hiring of specific percentages of persons from minority groups, and he thinks the union seniority system should not be amended to help blacks and women. As for abortion, he is "totally opposed to it" and noted that after the Supreme Court struck down the Georgia law in the landmark

Defense
Budget

Tax
Policy

Tax
Policy

Ill
State

CIA

Capital
Punishment

Abort
on

Cont.

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abortion case, he had signed a new law that "was as restrictive as possible, consistent with the Court's decision." He does not favor a constitutional amendment on abortion, but he would not approve any national health insurance plan that includes abortion as part of the medical care to be covered.

Jackson → Carter says he would support the Democratic ticket even if George Wallace was on it, and that "next to myself, I'd say Scoop Jackson is most qualified to be President." Repeatedly during our talk and in his Mississippi speeches he referred to Fred Harris, Birch Bayh, Morris Udall, Sargent Shriver, and Frank Church as "the five ultra-liberals in the race."

On some issues, though, Carter is quite liberal. He favors comprehensive national health care, hand-gun control, and tough environmental and energy policies. He supports strong anti-trust enforcement, reform of federal regulatory agencies, and a halt to production of the B-1 bomber. He opposes mandatory minimum jail sentences and would pardon all Vietnam-era draft evaders. He favors repeal of right-to-work laws, although he never tried to repeal Georgia's, and ran against repeal in 1970. He supports the Equal Rights Amendment.

Who is Jimmy, what is he?

THE PROBLEM with evaluating Carter's stated positions is that inconsistent statements in his past record, such as the ones on right-to-work laws, make it difficult to tell if he really means what he says. In fact, a scanning of Carter's six-year public record leaves one wondering who he really is.

Ideology
Civil Rights
Is the real Carter the candidate who told the voters in Brunswick, Georgia, on July 31, 1970, "I was never a liberal; I am and have always been a conservative," or the one who is now telling adoring audiences, "I've always been a liberal on civil rights and social needs"? Is the real Carter the Presidential candidate who says the school integration decision and the Civil Rights Act "were the greatest things that ever happened to the South," or the gubernatorial candidate who, in 1970, denied saying that the Supreme Court school integration decision was "morally and legally correct"? Is the real Carter the candidate who wrote in his autobiography that our involvement in Vietnam lacked moral principle, or the governor who urged Georgians to protest William Calley's conviction and said he thought Calley was a "scapegoat"? Is the real Carter the candidate who, in 1976, has inspired rock bands to play benefit concerts for him, or the one who, seven weeks after the Kent State tragedy, promised to send National Guardsmen with live ammunition onto college

campuses to put down disorder "even before violence erupts"? Is the real Carter the governor who told a Congressional committee in June of 1971 that he opposed any total federal financing of welfare and was against the federal government bypassing the states to aid cities directly, or the Presidential candidate who now says he favors a federal takeover of welfare and wants federal revenue-sharing to bypass the states and go directly to the cities? Is the real Carter the candidate who tells conservative businessmen in Mississippi, "Mayor Daley is my friend; he knows I'm the only one willing to go against [Governor] Dan Walker for him," or the candidate who campaigns against the "powerful politicians"?

There could be legitimate explanations for these and other contradictions. Politicians are entitled to grow and change their minds like the rest of us. But Carter's changes seem to span the range of basic national issues and correspond totally with the constituency he seeks. And they must be considered in the context of the pious antipolitics campaign he is running.

More than that, they may be the tip of an as-yet concealed iceberg of contradictions. At the Georgia State Department of Archives and History there is widespread feeling that, in the words of one research librarian, "Governor Carter and his people censored documents, especially speeches, that should be in the public record." According to Frank Daniel, a veteran archivist who every four years prepares a volume of the complete public statements of Georgia governors, his attempts to compile the Carter volume have been "hobbled by [Carter's] people... They've only sent me the speeches they want to include. That's never happened to me before." Another archivist explained, "You can't find any speeches Carter made to groups in Mississippi, Alabama, rural Georgia, or places like that, because they never sent them over here. We got a copy of his schedule every week, so we can see all the ones that are missing." For example, after a careful search, the librarians were certain they never received a tape or text of a speech Carter made on George Wallace Appreciation Day in Red Level, Alabama. Powell explained the absence of the tape by saying that "The troopers who are supposed to record everything that he says out of state forgot to record it. I guess." (The local newsclips of the event did not report the specifics of the speech.)

One document that was sent to the archives suggests that the complete record might be quite damaging to Carter. On August 4, 1972, Carter replied to a letter from Mrs. Lena Mae Dempsey, who had written to complain to him that he should have endorsed Wallace at the Democratic Convention instead of Jackson. Carter wrote back as follows:

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pany Rafshoon used to pay for them. . . . I don't know if Jimmy knew about it, but everyone else did." Rafshoon denies the allegation. King, when asked about Abernathy's charge, said, "I never knew specifically of that, but it could have happened. . . . I found out later on that I was naive, and a lot of crass and evil people helped me for the wrong reasons."

Carter beat Sanders for the nomination, and then ran in the general election with Lester Maddox (who had been nominated for lieutenant governor in a separate primary). In October of 1970 Carter said he was "proud to have Lester Maddox as my running mate," and that Maddox represented "the essence of the Democratic party." On November 3, he was elected governor.

The easy explanation for Carter's 1970 campaign conduct is that he had to do and say all these things, even though he didn't believe in them, in order to be elected in Georgia. That may be understandable, although it ill befits the man who wrote in his campaign autobiography that one of the biggest obstacles he faces this year is that "I don't know how to compromise on any principle." It also raises the question of what he's willing to do and say that he doesn't believe in 1976—running this time as the anti-politics sincerity candidate.

Warped record

THE 1976 CARTER STUMP-SPEECH invariably begins with him introducing himself as a "nuclear physicist and a peanut farmer." Neither claim is entirely true. His only academic degree is the standard Bachelor of Naval Science he got at Annapolis. He did do some graduate work, although not enough to get a degree, but this was in engineering, not nuclear physics. Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, says, "We're in the process of changing the literature." As for being a peanut farmer, Carter is actually a wealthy agribusinessman, whose income comes from warehousing and shelling other farmers' peanuts and from commodities trading. He does own and live on a peanut farm, but it is run by his brother.

"I admit the *People* picture of him shoveling peanuts was a phony," says media man Rafshoon. "But those are the only pictures the press wants of Jimmy." Rafshoon isn't exactly discouraging them. A planned TV ad pictures an overall-clad Carter sitting peanuts while a voice-over asks, "Can you imagine any other candidate working in the hot August sun?"

Carter was a good governor. Although his legislative proposals often suffered because of the heavy-handed and, some say, stubborn way he treated Georgia's independent-minded legis-

lators, his regime had none of the phony, corrupt populism that has marked the Wallace years in neighboring Alabama. He fought for tough consumer laws and banking regulation, and opened the government to blacks and women. He developed new programs in health care, education, and corrections, although Georgia's prisons are still terribly overcrowded and lacking in medical and psychiatric care. He constantly traveled the state listening to citizen complaints, and he was the kind of down-to-earth officeholder who could strike up a conversation with a prison inmate mowing his lawn, find out that lawyers were bilking prisoners with fake promises of parole, and do something about it.

But whatever good Carter did do as governor is blurred now by the legend he is trying to make of it. On the campaign trail his reorganization of 300 state agencies into twenty-two super-agencies, which indeed made the government more manageable and easier to understand, has become "a revolution in government that got rid of 278 of 300 state agencies and reduced administrative costs by 50 percent." To hear him in Mississippi, it's as if most of the government was wiped out with no loss to the public. In fact, the reorganization merely consolidated state agencies, preserving most of them as "divisions" under umbrella super-agencies. (One of them, the Department of Human Resources, has become an unmanageable blob.) When I asked Carter what he was referring to when he said administrative costs had been cut 50 percent, he referred me to a member of his staff, who, as of this writing, has been unable to point to anything specific. Georgia budget documents show that funding for the agency most involved with administration—the governor's office—increased 49 percent in the four years Carter was in the statehouse. As for total government costs, Georgia's expenditures in Carter's last year as governor have not been tabulated yet, but, according to Winford Poitevint, an analyst in the state budget office, Carter's spending increased 50 percent in his first three years in office, from \$1.6 billion in fiscal year 1971, to \$2.4 billion in fiscal year 1974; during his four years, the total number of state employees increased 30 percent, from 52,000 to 68,000. Carter's increased spending probably was the result of inflation and upgraded social programs, but that does not explain his distortion of his fiscal record.

Carter also claims that he left Georgia with a \$116 million budget surplus. (In his autobiography it's \$200 million.) When I was with him, he usually mentioned this right after he attacked New York City officials for having distorted their budget figures. In fact, according to the state auditor's office, Carter inherited a surplus of \$90,950,096 and left a surplus of

Campaign



Steven Brill
JIMMY
CARTER'S
PATHETIC
LIES

Geo.
Wallace
d

Senp
Jackson

Dear Mrs. Dempsey:

I have never had anything but the highest praise for Governor Wallace. My support for Senator Jackson was based upon a personal request from our late Senator Richard Russell shortly before his death. I think you will find that Senator Jackson, Governor Wallace and I are in close agreement on most issues.

Let me ask you to consider one other factor before I close. There are times when two men working toward the same end can accomplish more if they are not completely tied together. I think you will find that Governor Wallace understands this.

Please let me know when I can be of service to you or your children in Atlanta. I hope I have been able to give you a slightly better impression of me.

Sincerely,
Jimmy Carter

Such letters notwithstanding, Carter became known nationally for disavowing the veiled racism that elected him when he said in his inauguration speech that the time for racial discrimination was over. As governor, he opened jobs to minorities and initiated a host of programs for the disadvantaged. For this he has earned the 1976 support of Andrew Young, the Atlanta Congressman who was a key aide to Martin Luther King, Jr. But Carter's civil-rights record should not be exaggerated. For example, he does not favor a constitutional amendment to ban it. But in 1972 he praised a Georgia legislative resolution calling on Congress to pass such an amendment, and he urged Georgians to demonstrate against the assignment of students or teachers on the basis of race. On August 17, 1971, he praised George Wallace's defiance of a court desegregation order. "Jimmy Carter wouldn't be my first choice for President or even my fifth," says Georgia State Senator Julian Bond. "His liberalism is largely a myth. The reason he gets such good press is that whenever the rest of the country thinks of Georgia, they think of Lester Maddox. By comparison, Jimmy looks good."

John Lewis, a longtime civil-rights leader who heads the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project agrees that "Carter's liberalism on race is overrated." He points specifically to "Carter's attempt back in 1972 to get the Democrats to weaken the Voting Rights Act."

Whatever the strengths of Carter's record, such things as the letter to Mrs. Dempsey, the incomplete records in the archives, the alleged campaign dirty tricks, and, above all, the false campaign he is now running as the peanut farmer-antipolitician encourage the most cynical interpretation of it. Friends say that the *Time* cover story written just after he took office, which labeled him the "voice of the New South," planted national ambitions in his head. (By law he

couldn't run for reelection anyway.) If so, everything good he did from that point could be attributed to a realization that to go national he had to separate himself from Georgia's Stone Age image. Certainly, this could hold true for anything he did after September 1972, the point at which he says he decided to run for President. This would include his most endearingly symbolic liberal act—the placing of a portrait of Martin Luther King, Jr., in the State Capitol on February 17, 1974—seventeen months after he knew he was running for President as an enlightened Southerner.

JIMMY CARTER has many qualities that could make him a good President. He has the drive and stamina to take a firm hold of the government, and his two years of house-to-house campaigning will probably have taught him more about the country than most Presidents ever know. Although you can't tell from his speeches, he absorbs complex issues easily, studies new ones constantly, and has developed ideas in energy policy and other areas that are original and well thought out. He is, in short, a hard-working, smart politician. It is arguable, in fact, that his abilities are such that his phony campaign and past and present contradictions should be winked at because he'd make a good President. But in this regard, one of his campaign homilies holds true: "I'll only be as good a President as I am a candidate," he often says. *Candidacy*

The reason he is right is that his campaign expresses his basic flaw. Carter's friends and enemies agree that, if one thing characterizes Jimmy Carter, it is his obsession with Jimmy Carter. It is what gives him the ability to portray his opponents, like Carl Sanders in 1970, as representing the forces of evil; and it's what gives him the drive to get up an hour earlier and work an hour later than any of the other candidates. "If Jimmy Carter decides he wants something he usually finds a way to get it," observes Bill Shipp, a veteran Atlanta political reporter. It should be no surprise, then, that Carter sees issues only as props in the campaign sales pitch, and minor, often bothersome, props at that. This is why he couldn't understand McGovern "using" the war as an issue. And it was natural that, instead of admitting his mistakes or his limited credentials as a one-term governor of Georgia, he'd try to find a shortcut to get to the White House on schedule—that he'd try to blur the history of the 1970 campaign and of his record as governor, and run as the new idol the country yearns for. So he packaged himself as a legend and began campaigning in the name of peanut-farmer, antipolitics sincerity. Jimmy Carter's campaign—hungry, no philosophy, and brilliantly packaged—is Jimmy Carter. □



Image

A different view of Jimmy Carter

Commander in control

By Eugene Kennedy

The hand of Jimmy Carter touches the shoulders of politicians and delegates, of anger-on and newsmen alike. It is the hand of the commanding officer who alone carries the secret orders and wants calm and absolute attention when he opens them.

Jimmy Carter is not a pastoral figure but a military man, a veteran of Adm. Hyman Rickover's discipline and the silence of deep submarine dives, the officer of trim lines and firmer jaw up close than in photographs, the engineer comforted by the feel of well-trawn blueprints.

No, Jimmy is not the leader of a religious revival. Put your ear to his breast and the sound is that of a finely tuned nuclear engine ready for a hundred days in the darkness under the ice cap. The metaphor is military rather than religious for this extraordinarily intelligent man who made the Democratic convention not into an evangelical meeting but into something more like the Yard at Annapolis filled with shiny-faced and obedient piebes.

Commander-in-chief does not seem too grand an ambition for Carter, who in moving toward it has taught lessons to everybody, from the professional politicians to the leadership of the Roman Catholic church.

CARTER AND HIS STAFF have taken the measure of Catholic influence, and they are convinced they understand the Catholic people and their attitudes better than the Catholic bishops do. The Carter camp's version of American Catholicism is not that of the lumbering but finally effective juggernaut battering political castles or condemned mobile houses into rubble but of an army in disarray, with uncertain trumpets, and field commanders who cannot effectively organize their troops for the simplest of maneuvers.

No, they say, unrolling their polls, Catholics do not stand together on issues of their own and their vote cannot be mustered or delivered by religious leaders. On almost every occasion on which Catholics have tried to organize political pressure over the last decade — on, for example, the issue of aid to schools — they have been defeated.

There are many who agree with Carter and his aides, veteran observers who are ready to swallow the bitter draft of this revisionist brew, men and women who have felt that the American Catholic church never makes small mistakes and, in fact, has made enormous ones in recent years. Some Catholics who oppose abortion are not completely happy with the style of some of the literature of the Right-to-Life Movement or with the idea of a constitutional amendment to turn aside the 1973 Supreme Court decision. They nod somewhat grimly and say that Carter is right and that in the long run holding to his present positions will prove politically successful. But even these persons, wise as they feel themselves in the ways of civil and ecclesiastical politics, are not totally pleased with the manner in which Carter's convictions about Catholics have been communicated. Indeed, one

wonders if the style, invisible but as clear and forceful as a hand raised by a bird colonel to keep the enlisted men from entering the officers' club, may not bring Catholics together in a celebration of alienated rage that may yet deny the White House to Carter.

TIME AND AGAIN during convention week various ethnic (election-year language for Catholic) groups pressed for meetings with Carter or some member of his inner court. Their requests were uniformly denied, although in an almost sweet fashion, in Southern accents and smiles.

CARTER/MONDALE CAMPAIGN

The choice of Walter Mondale over a Catholic vice-presidential candidate provided a further index of Carter's attitude toward the Catholic vote (no need to seek it in this way) and the personality of Carter himself (obsessive and dutiful as an old-time Catholic).

Carter, like many a Catholic of his generation, gave himself to God and country, an engineer of cold war defenses, a planner who would waste nothing, neither time, scrap paper nor an extra stamp in giving his best services to the government. Doing his best, it is the theme of his prayers, the coda in his search, distorted in its exactness, for a running mate. Would the preliminary process for canonization require less scrutiny, or fewer devil's advocates? It was, in fact, a more secular process, the machinery drawn from Rickover's steel-edged plans for selecting worthy aides, the razor-sharp hurdles Carter himself had learned to clear before he served under the father of the nuclear submarine. A process to exact a price, a test—how often Carter has spoken of wishing to be tested by the American people, tested in every aspect of spirit and character — yes, a test for any man, no matter how splendid his lineage or approved his credentials. One must speculate on Carter's strength to sustain and administer tests to those who would serve with him, the style that will become even more familiar to us, an experience with power enough to curdle the pancake makeup of any politician.

FOR CARTER IS a precise technician, a man who understands command and the balance of devotion necessary between captain and crew in the crowded bulk of a submarine. What was needed there was a commander of utter self-confidence, a cool and contained man, no small man at that, a man younger men could admire and with whom they might forge strong ties of loyalty. Carter may well have heard of the Navy's use of psychology in recruiting personnel for nuclear submarine duty. There was, at one time at least, a preference for young men from broken homes who would be more likely than others to form a strong dependent relationship with the captain, yes, the very thing needed for the arduous trial of close quarters for long days without daylight beneath the sea.

It is a tribute to Carter's wisdom and appreciation of a staff's unmortgaged devotion to a paternal leader that he has grouped around himself generally young men marked by their personal affection for him, men ready for long voyages on tight rations, their security resting in their leader's imperturbable sense of direction and sense of destiny. Jimmy Carter wants men he can count on, men to follow his plans, and he seems to have them.

THE WIZARD OF OZ

Jimmy Carter's nomination

by Lewis H. Lapham



FOR EIGHT MONTHS Jimmy Carter has revolved like a mechanical toy in the bright ball of the media, answering everyman's question and smiling into everyman's camera; and yet, even now, hardly anybody knows anything about him. On the day that the Democratic grandees conceded Mr. Carter the nomination he could still appear to be all things to all men. In June, as in early February, the public-opinion polls showed that liberals believed Mr. Carter a liberal and that conservatives believed him a conservative. He had taken positions on both sides of every question that could be identified as an issue. All the columnists agreed that he had waged a brilliant primary campaign, but few of them could agree as to what it was, exactly, that the candidate had said. Not even his admirers seemed to know who he was, or what he stood for, or why he wanted to be President of the United States. Like the Wizard of Oz, Mr. Carter had contrived to remain invisible. Although possibly a useful trait in a candidate, in a President it would be ruinous.

On the one occasion when I listened to Mr. Carter speak, in early May at the Plaza Hotel in New York, he left his audience in a state of confusion equivalent to the confusion in the national press. Most of those present were men of weight and probity, directors of companies and pillars of the community who each had paid \$100 to attend a breakfast sponsored by such eminent Democrats as C. Douglas Dillon and Cyrus Vance. Mr. Dillon had been Secretary of the Treasury in the Kennedy Administration, and Mr. Vance, who

has been mentioned as a prospect for Secretary of State, was Deputy Secretary of Defense in the Johnson Administration. Their endorsement of aspiring politicians conveys an aura of respectable authority. Even so, the crowd was inclined to be skeptical. When Mr. Carter presented himself at the rostrum in the Grand Ballroom, smiling for as long as the television lights were on, the audience granted him a standing but halfhearted ovation. In the words of a dignified gentleman on my left, "I can't say that I trust a man who uses a boy's name, but, if Doug Dillon vouches for the fellow, maybe there's something to him."

Mr. Carter chose to present himself in the persona of the innocent abroad, a latter-day Billy Budd, barefoot and without guile, wandering around the country in search of love and friends. A small and self-contained man, he gazed vaguely upward and was careful not to move his hands. Like a small boy reciting an inspirational poem he said all the dutiful things that a well-behaved child is supposed to say in the company of strangers. He told of how he never "evaded an issue," of how he was an "eager student" who was doing his best to learn all those complicated things that the folks talked about up there in Washington, D.C., of the many telephone calls he'd been getting from important politicians, of how it wasn't the American people who had decided to do all those "dreadful things" in Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile, the White House, and the CIA, of "the deep yearning for intimacy" he'd discovered out there "in this great country of ours," of how he had come to know "the

people of this nation better than any other human being."

The effect of the speech was embarrassing. To men of considerable sophistication Mr. Carter had delivered a 4-H Club address, all of it very stale and very sweet, utterly devoid of feeling or thought. Over the last twenty years I have listened to a great many politicians make a great many speeches, but never before have I noticed such an absence of emotion among people who might have hoped to believe what they heard. The applause at the end was as small as Mr. Carter's voice. He had arrived punctually at 8:00 A.M., and when he left, exactly an hour later, it was as if nobody had been there.

Most people immediately began to talk of other things—the weather or the morning's business engagements, the cost of their property in Connecticut, or the best way to get to Maine in August. If they took the trouble to make even a passing mention of what they had paid \$100 to see and hear, their remarks implied an attitude of condescension. They believed themselves capable of seeing through the paltry charade of American politics in a matter of a few minutes, and it amused them to look briefly at the new gorilla passing through town every four years on the way to its cage in Washington. Together with their counterparts elsewhere in the country, they constitute what might be called the party of the indifferent majority. Characteristic of their analysis was the following conversation, reproduced in its entirety, between two men harrying toward the elevators.

Lewis H. Lapham is the editor of Harper's.

FIRST MAN (Vaguely and without caring about the response): "Well, what did you think of it?"

SECOND MAN: "The usual small-time crook. Another liar."

FIRST MAN (Impatiently): "Yes, yes, of course, but so what? You can say the same thing about all of them. Think of Humphrey, of Jackson. My God—*Jackson*."

Among the few people who remained in the Grand Ballroom after Mr. Carter had left (to continue his portrayal of little boy lost at a United Nations conference on nuclear war) the disagreement was comprehensive. There were as many opinions as there were small groups of people coming together to exchange theories and interpretations. Mr. Carter had come and gone in a magician's smoke, leaving his admirers with an empty canvas on which they could paint the images of their hearts' desire. The more devout thought that Mr. Carter was a saint. They told stories about his concern for the old and the sick, about the tears that once welled up in his eyes when he was told about a dying child. The candidate's critics denounced him as a swindling hypocrite. From their coat pockets they brought forth newspaper clippings on which they had marked passages of blatant contradiction. Other people spoke of the candidate as religious zealot or honest farmer, as effective administrator or protégé of the Ku Klux Klan. A man in a plaid suit described Mr. Carter as being "dirt mean," a poor boy from south Georgia who trusted nobody and would do his best, once elected President, to root out the evil that darkened the understanding of his enemies.

IF MR. CARTER'S presence inspires such little confidence among people willing to give him money, then his political triumph among the larger public must depend on something other than the force of his mind or the largeness of his spirit. He isn't an eloquent man, and his visions of America the Beautiful have the quality of the gilded figurines bought in penny arcades. But he is obviously intelligent, and, I suspect, also courageous, greedy, determined, and vindictive. He was willing to work longer hours and take greater risks than any of the other politicians in the field, and he

understood the magnitude of a national sense of defeat. He assumed, correctly, that the vast majority of the American people, like the two men hurrying away from breakfast in the Plaza Hotel, wanted to forget about politics. They were sick to death of politicians, tired of issues they didn't understand and which didn't admit of easy answers, disappointed by the chronicle of failure that seemed to delight the Eastern press. In Vietnam 40,000 Americans had been killed, apparently to no purpose. The Nixon Administration was a disgrace, and so was the god-damned Congress. Even when Mr. Nixon had been discovered as the Antichrist his absence didn't improve matters. Within a year of his departure the fine promises about a renewed code of official conduct began to sound as thin as jukebox music. Multinational corporations continued to pay bribes to Congressmen as well as to foreign governments; judges were still going to jail; the Kennedys were no better than anybody else; and the FBI and the CIA apparently had been subverting the Bill of Rights ever since the Roosevelt Administration. Even before the advent of Elizabeth Ray there appeared to be no virtue in the Republic.

Given the general feeling of disgust, it was an easy thing for a great many people to imagine themselves betrayed. Mr. Carter brought them a focus for their discontent. Were they angry and resentful? Did they despise intellectuals and the Eastern Establishment? Were they sick of corruption and bad news? Well, so was Jimmy Carter. He hated all the vested interests that a poor boy is supposed to hate, and he meant to do something about it. To audiences consumed with impotent rage Mr. Carter used the language of Christian piety to convey a sense of the Lord's vengeance. Thus the paradox implicit in his success. He presented himself as the candidate of hope and new beginnings, but he floated to the surface of American politics on a tide of despair. In place of a vision of the future he offered an image of the nonexistent past, promising a safe return to an innocent Eden in which American power and morality might be restored to the condition of imaginary grace.

His witness was not much different from that of Billy Graham and Rev.

Sun Myung Moon. He spoke to the unhappiness of people wishing for a world that never was. The popular suspicion of government is always well-founded. To a greater or lesser extent, all governments commit crimes against the common people. The law is usually unjust, the capital always noisy with fools. No wonder that Mr. Carter found so many adherents for his crusade against the lords temporal and the kingdom of Caesar.

His success with the so-called governing class, with people who thought they recognized him as a demagogue, raises a more ominous question. Outside the walls of the citadel the suspicion of government can be taken for granted. Among people inside the walls the prevalence of an analogous feeling, expressed as self-disgust rather than as resentment, suggests the possibility of a civilization in decline. Within the past two or three years I have noticed that a surprising number of people who hold responsible office, in government as well as in the realms of law, finance, and the press, have acquired the habit of denouncing themselves as imposters. They distrust their own legitimacy, and they look for validation in drugs, sex, and Zen. Both in New York and official Washington I meet people who no longer believe themselves capable of directing the business of the state. When they try to envision the future they see nothing that doesn't look like a Saturday afternoon rerun of the past twenty years. The same slogans, the usual compromises and the old lies—all of it miserably expensive and none of it made bearable by the romance of youth or the presence of the Kennedys. Their lack of imagination makes them sick of themselves.

AS LONG AGO AS 1965 Sen. Eugene McCarthy had reached a similar conclusion. During important votes on the floor of the Senate it was his custom to remain in his office, ignoring repeated quorum calls while making ironic epigrams about the pointlessness of it all. A more perceptive man than most of his confederates, Senator McCarthy was, as always, in the vanguard of the fashionable sentiment. In 1965 his cynicism was regarded as a dangerous

heresy; ten years later it had become the received wisdom.

A recent story in *The Wall Street Journal* mentioned the large number of politicians who have decided to quit the government. No fewer than eight Senators and forty-six Congressmen, many of them younger men with safe seats, offered various reasons for refusing to stand for reelection. Politics, they said, was too hard or too degrading; the hours were too long, the issues too complex; too many people looked upon politicians with loathing; they had lost faith in the plausibility of representative government, and they chose to do something else with the rest of their lives.

An equivalent feeling of exhaustion prevented the Democratic party from offering any resistance to Mr. Carter. Of the Democrats eligible to vote in the primary elections, only one in five bothered to show up at the polls. Despite the talk of denying Mr. Carter the nomination, nobody could find a moral or intellectual ground on which to make an argument. The party remained divided into factions, without any coherent objective beyond regaining access to the White House. Under the circumstances, what was the point of keeping up appearances? Mr. Carter had a new face; he had been winning primaries; the press accepted him at his word; and he would do just as well as any other candidate. If it was a question of money and jobs, and if the American people were foolish enough or apathetic enough to believe the sermons of a rapacious moralist, then why put obstacles in the road to Washington?

In New York Mr. Carter's supporters have a sheepish look about them, as if they were holding hats over their faces after being arrested in a police raid on a brothel. Instead of talking about the regenerative clarity of the candidate's political vision, they mention their chances of a connection in Washington. The more squeamish among them already have begun to make excuses. They know, or think they know, that Mr. Carter bears an embarrassing resemblance to Richard Nixon, and they don't like to be reminded of their previous statements (some of them as recent as the early spring) about the necessity of restoring to the White House a man of principle. To anybody who will listen, but mostly to

themselves, they say that Mr. Carter must be admired for his pathlessness or his coldness of mind, for his having been "born again" in Christ or his successful campaign tactics—for anything and everything that might rescue them from a sense of their own uneasiness.

It stands to reason that Mr. Carter was not closely questioned about unemployment, taxes, foreign policy, social welfare, or the military budget. He wasn't asked the questions because not enough people cared if he knew the answers. Probably he doesn't, but, at least for the moment, that is something that his supporters would rather not know. They prefer the condition of benumbed hope. If they look too closely they might find out that Mr. Carter is indeed the Wizard of Oz, which would make it unpleasant to vote for him in November.

Nor has the press insisted upon lines of questioning that might prove inconvenient. Throughout the eight months of his advent, Mr. Carter was excused from anything but cursory examination. The rules of evidence in the national political debate prohibit the taking of testimony about a man's character, and so, until his nomination had been assured, the press obligingly confined itself to meaningless analysis of the candidate's shifting positions across a spectrum of abstract possibility. To do anything else would have been to suggest that the country was still in trouble, that the threat to the Republic had not ended with the resignation of Richard Nixon.

If Mr. Carter has not yet managed to convey a clear sense of himself, whether by accident or as a result of deliberate calculation, then it is fair to say that he doesn't yet exist as a public man. It is conceivable that he doesn't know much more about himself than the people who invest him with artificial images. Obviously he wants to be President. That much everybody knows. But as to why he wants to be President, or what he would do with the office once elected, I doubt that even Mr. Carter could answer the questions with certainty. His unwillingness to reveal himself can lead nowhere except into tragedy. For the better part of a generation the country has suffered the defeats that follow from believing in what didn't exist. □

Nancy Reagan, Betty Ford Both Assets to Husbands
(Barbara Walters, NBC Today Show)

Betty Ford is considered by many to be the President's biggest asset. She doesn't always agree with him, indeed on questions like abortion, she disagrees, but that only seems to add to her charm and popularity.

She canvasses door to door, attends rallies, goes to cultural centers, she enjoys being with the crowd, but she tires easily. Her campaign style is low-key, and gentle -- in contrast to her often very strong views. Many women identify with her, especially after her operation for breast cancer and her outspoken views on pre-marital sex, marijuana and abortion.

Nancy Reagan totally shares her husband's political beliefs and personal ones as well. They say they've never disagreed. The Reagans have been married for 24 years. She was a movie starlet and daughter of a wealthy surgeon. Mrs. Reagan likes politics, she almost always campaigns with her husband, often talks with staffers about her husband's plans, but one rarely hears her publicly. She is supposed to be a powerful influence on her husband, although he disputes she is the power behind the throne. -- (3/9/76)

→ On Discussing the Issues
(Editorial, excerpted, Houston Chronicle)

Perhaps the most smile-provoking aspect of the primaries so far is the sublimely outrageous manner in which the former governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter, has turned aside his opponents' attempts to come to grips with him on the issues.

To indicate that discussing the issues is a disservice to the country, because such "political bickering" could further sour the public's already negative attitude toward politics, and to get away with it, can only bring wry grins at the frustrated state into which this throws his opponents.

Maintaining such an attitude is, of course, ridiculous on its face and we would doubt that it could be carried on for very long. But it is nonetheless perversely amusing to see it tried and to see Carter's opponents try to cope with it. As we said, however, electing a president is serious business and this kind of thing would be considerably less amusing as time goes on.
-- (3/4/76)

'We Still Don't Know You, Jimmy'
(By Godfrey Sperling Jr., excerpted, C.S. Monitor)

The appearance of Democrats of all faiths, kinds, and sizes now surging behind Jimmy Carter is a false one. Here in Washington and around the nation there are a substantial number of Democrats, both key leaders and rank and file, who still harbor doubts about Mr. Carter.

Soundings among Democratic leaders in Congress and at the state level -- leaders who in turn are listening to the Democratic voters -- show:

-- There are still a large number of Democratic leaders who even as the Daleys and the Jacksons and the Wallaces move behind Carter remain less than enthusiastic about the Georgian.

-- The most frequent comment from leaders is that Jimmy Carter is the result of a long, drawn-out primary system which ended up by producing a relatively unknown quantity. They are not saying Carter isn't good -- or might not be even better than that. They merely feel that Carter may have done it more with charm and persistence than by anything else.

The questioning about Carter runs particularly deep within the bureaucracy in Washington, heavily populated by Democrats. It is true that some of the doubts come from those who are anxious that they may lose their jobs if Carter takes over and cuts out some agencies and combines others -- as he has promised to do. But several government workers have told this reporter they fear that Carter's approach to government may be over-simplistic -- and that, rather than achieve efficiency, he may merely make the government operation leaner and more streamlined by actually less able to function effectively.

Finally the feeling persists among many Democrats that Carter still is less than clear on the issues. The press echoes this point of view.

At a time when there appears to be almost unanimity within the party behind Carter, it simply isn't true. It may be coming. But it isn't here yet. -- (6/14/76)

The Real Issues
(Editorial, excerpted, Baltimore Sun)

Appropriately on April Fools day, a whiff of autumn could be sniffed in the springtime presidential rituals. Ronald Reagan was calling Gerald Ford soft on Communism; Morris Udall and Henry Jackson were accusing Jimmy Carter of being beastly to New York. Nevertheless, for a moment it was all as credible as sugar in the salt shaker. Three of the announced Democratic candidates -- Carter, Jackson and Udall -- plus that potent perennial, Hubert H. Humphrey, met with Democratic mayors at the Waldorf-Astoria. What they had to say should have reminded everyone that after all the primaries and caucuses and conventions, two presidential nominees will at last get to the real issues.

These issues be thoroughly explored on the hustings after conventions time. Until then, voters will know there is a lot of April Fool in the issues contrived and exploited during the primary season. -- (4/5/76)

Avoiding Mistakes(Editorial, excerpted, Atlanta Journal)

Though all sorts of things can still happen at the Democratic national convention itself, the party's platform committee has come up with a draft which is pleasing to probable presidential nominee Jimmy Carter. As a result, the committee also has avoided making some big political mistakes, which, without the Carter influence, it quite likely would have made.

Despite the grumbling of some who view silence on such issues as elevating political expediency above ideals, the platform committee refused to get as far out of step with the majority of the American people as party ideologues tended to do in 1972. It begins to appear that candidate Carter will not have to start the campaign disavowing most of his party's platform. -- (6/17/76)

Can FBI Be Trusted?(Editorial, excerpted, Des Moines Register)

Jimmy Carter, the probable Democratic presidential nominee, has expressed reservations about an offer by Atty. Gen Levi to have the FBI run background checks on possible running mates.

An FBI check conceivably could alert the presidential nominee to factors in a person's background that would make that person an inadvisable vice presidential choice. But the FBI also conceivably could try to blackball somebody the agency disapproved. Carter is properly concerned about the possible consequences of giving the FBI even an indirect voice in the selection process.

For too long even presidents were cowed by the FBI and dared not appear to question the integrity of the agency. Jimmy Carter's reluctance to bring the FBI into the vice presidential selection picture is a healthy sign. -- (6/23/76)

Carter Twists the Record(Editorial, excerpted, Daily Oklahoman)

Now that he has the Democratic presidential nomination virtually sewed up a month before the convention, Jimmy Carter is reportedly turning his attention to potential running mates and possible cabinet choices.

However, there is the little matter of a campaign and election before Carter can be sworn in as the 39th President of the United States next January. And as the contradictions in Carter's record become more apparent, a funny thing could happen to him on the way to the White House, like it did to Thomas E. Dewey in 1948.

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A Psychohistory of Jimmy Carter's 'Rebirth'

Thrice-Born

By Bruce Mazlish and Edwin Diamond

"... Carter's mystical experience is worth examining, not least because his persona is a central issue in the campaign ..."

The time, a decade ago, when Jimmy Carter became a "born-again Christian" was, and remains, a magical, mystical experience in many ways. No description of the episode—episodes?—exists in Carter's own autobiographical *Why Not the Best?* An odd omission for such a careful person. There are at least three versions of what may have happened. Even the dates are uncertain. Carter himself, during a recent interview with us, placed the experience "in 1966, the period of a couple years, 1967. . . ."

But there is nothing vague or uncertain about the consequences of the born-again experience. Carter has told us, and a number of other interviewers, that he believes he became a "new person, with changed attitudes," though with the same basic character. Before, he used people; he couldn't take defeat. After, he became a servant of people; he achieved calmness and serenity. He told us he could even take the loss of the election in November with "complete personal equanimity."

Carter's "born-again" experience is worth examining closely for several reasons, not least because his persona, rather than any ideology or political issues, has become a central issue in the current presidential campaign. Carter himself says, "I want the American people to understand my character, my weaknesses, the kind of person I am." In his campaign, he tells us that "I've got a good family," and adds, "I hope that you'll be part of my family." It seems useful, therefore, to learn as much about his family, and its meanings for him, as we can.

In an effort to shed more light on both Jimmy Carter's born-again experience and his feelings about family, we use here the insights of psychohistory. Since psychohistory consists of the application of psychoanalytic—that is, Freudian—concepts to political figures, a classic psychological biography would concentrate on the first-born experience: infancy and early childhood. However, recent followers of Freud, notably Erik H. Erikson and the ego psychologists, give close attention as well to other life stages, such as the "identity crisis" of adolescence and

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even to later, mid-life crises. Personality, in this view, is not set in concrete at six, or at sixteen. Individuals constantly change and grow. In analytic terms, ego psychologists pay at least as much attention to the intellectual and cognitive processes (the ego) as to instinctual drives (the id). The psychohistory we use treats political or religious figures—Gandhi, Luther, Kissinger, Carter—as active people functioning in society, not as patients on a couch.

Still, we want to be clear on two points. First, the bedrock on which all psychoanalysis, as well as psychohistory, stands is a belief in the importance of unconscious, as well as conscious, mental processes. Thus, psychohistory tries to study the inner dynamics of its subjects and to find the recurring patterns of behavior. We may ask, for example, whether there is a special meaning in the fact that Jimmy Carter's autobiography gives the exact age, height, and weight of his father, James Earl Sr., at the time of Carter's birth, but not that of his mother, Lillian. Such a "fact" may be meaningful, or it may not, but in psychohistory it cannot be ignored. Does it fit in with other "facts" to form a pattern? Does it reflect unconscious feelings about how one parent serves as a model with whom to identify?

Second, we take our insights from many sources. Carter himself talks about the "complexity" of people. We recognize that complexity; character does not fit some model in cookie-cutter fashion. In some too neat analyses, Lillian Carter is pictured as the liberal, compassionate influence on Jimmy, and the father as the unfeeling, conservative disciplinarian. Our inquiries suggest that the reality may be much more ambivalent. Carter's father can also be seen as caring, his mother as self-righteous.

Not too long ago, an investigation like ours would have triggered a hostility about "shrinks," "psychojournalists," and "the president's analysts." But many Americans have become increasingly well informed about psychological processes—including Carter. When we talked to him he had been reading Doris Kearns's psychohistory *Lyndon Johnson & the American Dream*. Psychological analysis need not reduce active adult men and women to oral, anal, or genital "stages." Sophisticated audiences also understand that many adult "problems" are part of the normal pattern of development.

What follows, then, is a part of a psychohistorical work-in-progress, a story explained—or at least somewhat illuminated—with the help of Freud and Erikson.



“... She said, ‘Jimmy, you don’t sound like the same person. You sound intoxicated.’ And I said, ‘Well, in a way I am’...”

‘God’s Influence’

In September, 1966, Jimmy Carter, age 41, lost the Democratic primary election for the Georgia governorship by 20,000 votes out of a million or so ballots cast. Some time later, Carter says, he was attending the Baptist church in Plains, Georgia, when the minister gave a sermon with the title “If You Were Arrested for Being a Christian, Would There Be Enough Evidence to Convict You?” As Carter told Bill Moyers in a television interview: “I was going through a state in my life then that was a very difficult one. I had run for governor and lost. Everything I did was not gratifying. When I succeeded in something, it was a horrible experience for me. I’d never done much for other people. I was always thinking about myself. . . .” And so his answer to the question in the sermon was “No.” From that time, Carter added, “I changed somewhat for the better. I formed a much more intimate relationship with Christ. And since then, I’ve had just about like a new life. As far as hatreds, frustrations, I feel at ease with myself.”

So goes Carter’s public account of the born-again experience. Another version comes from his sister, Ruth Carter Stapleton, the third of four children of Lillian and James Earl Sr. and, at 46, five years younger than her brother Jimmy. Ruth Stapleton is an author, evangelist, and faith healer—a psychologist of sorts. Her book, *The Gift of Inner Healing*, describes her own psychic despair in early adulthood after marriage, four children, and a serious car accident.

On an autumn day in 1966, Ruth Stapleton recalls, she and Jimmy drove from Plains to Webster County to go for a walk in the pine woods. According to Ruth, “I talked about my awareness of Christ, and I shared with Jimmy how it was to come to a place of total commitment, the peace and the joy and the power it brings.” He wanted to know what Ruth had that he didn’t have. Ruth asked her brother whether he would give up his life and everything he had for Christ. He answered yes. She asked if this included politics. He could not answer yes. Ruth says she replied that if that were so, he would never find peace. In her recollection he became very emotional and cried. He does not remember this. Not long after this talk, however, Ruth says a born-again Jimmy Carter “went off and did lay missionary

work for about a year” around Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

Carter’s most recent account of his experience, as told to us, doesn’t so much contradict this version as pick it up where Ruth leaves off. We had pressed him for the details, time, and circumstances of his born-again experience. He replied by offering us what he called “very tangible evidence.” It has become central to our inquiry:

I went to Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. I’m not sure about the year . . . May, 1967, on what we call a pioneer mission. There had been identified, before I went, 100 families of non-believers. . . . I was assigned the responsibility along with another person, Milo Pennington, from Texas, to go into these homes and explain our own faith and seek their conversion. Milo Pennington was not well-educated. He happens to be a peanut farmer—there aren’t very many of them in Texas—and he did the work and talking. It seemed to me he was the most inept person I had ever known in expressing himself. He fumbled and didn’t know what to say and I thought, “Oh, I could do much better. . . .” But he had done it before and he was a deeply committed person. . . .

Pennington apparently succeeded in converting fifteen or twenty families. Carter continues:

The whole week was almost a miracle to me and I felt the sense of the presence of God’s influence in my life. I called my wife on the phone one night and she said, “Jimmy, you don’t sound like the same person. You sound almost like you’re intoxicated. . . .” And I said, “Well, in a way I am. . . .” It was a new sense of release and assurance and peace with myself and a genuine interest in other people

that I hadn’t experienced before. I felt then and ever since that when I meet each individual person, they are important to me. I found myself able to say, “What can I do to make this other person’s life even more enjoyable?”—even people that I met on an elevator or in a chance encounter on the street. In the past, I had a natural inclination to say, “What can I get from them?” Or, to wipe them out of my mind. Now it’s just a different feeling altogether. It’s hard for me to express it.

Inner Meanings

While the words may come hard for Carter, we believe he has made the born-again experience accessible and understandable, even for nonbelievers.

Rereading carefully the various accounts of Carter’s born-again experience, and replaying the tape of our interview three or four times, the inner meanings emerge:

1. As a *religious* experience, the feelings Carter describes are hardly unique. In his own words, Baptists “believe that the first time we’re born as children, it’s human life given to us; and when we accept Jesus as our Savior it’s new life. That’s what ‘born again’ means.” E. Brooks Holifield, an Emory University historian, explains that rebirth among Baptists also initiates “a process of personal growth designed to impose control over such passions as anger, lust, pride, and fear.”

A comparison of Carter’s experience with that of another public figure of another time, Oliver Cromwell, provides another context. Cromwell, the great leader of the seventeenth-century “Puritan Revolution,” wrote of his conversion episode: “You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners.” Actually, Cromwell’s conscious acts of sin seem to have been minor derelictions: card-playing, some practical jokes. In Cromwell’s case, we can also guess at an unconscious fear of uncontrollable anger, either out of narcissistic frustrations or out of resentment of parental authority. But, Cromwell concludes, “God had mercy on me.”



Carter talking to voters in New Hampshire last February: An identification with "The People"—with no intermediaries.

Carter also seems to exaggerate his transgressions, while hiding his anger from himself. In any case Carter, too, received God's mercy. He was freed from his sense of sin, whatever its precise nature—and we'll come to that. He became able "to accept defeat" and "to get pleasure out of successes." His defeat had left him shaken. He had failed, badly, for the second time in his life (the first time, he told us, was when he missed out on a Rhodes scholarship after Annapolis). In un-Christian fashion, he had wanted to win too much, for himself and out of pride. Worse, he could not renounce his ambition, as his sister asked.

What happened was, first, the validation, inwardly, of Jimmy Carter's "selfish" desires and, second, their transformation. Earlier he felt himself a hypocrite. By some "miracle," he was reassured of his essential goodness and worth. By truly accepting God the Father, through Christ, he also had been accepted by God the Father. Such experiences are an expected part of the Baptist religion. It happens all the time.

2. As a *psychological* experience, Carter's "rebirth" is also explicable. Political reporters who have covered

Carter have suggested to us that Carter suffered an "emotional breakdown" of some sort after his 1966 defeat. We know, from his own account, that he lost some 22 pounds, sending his already slight frame down to 130 pounds, and that he was deeply in debt. We can't pretend to know his precise emotional state, but what we know of his personal life at the time sounds like one of the normal stages of adulthood.

Some translations from the confessional to the psychological mode can help at this point:

□ Carter told Moyers he recognized his own "shortcomings and sinfulness. . . ." *In psychological terms, he was depressed.*

□ Carter felt filled with pride. "I was always thinking about myself. . . ." *The psychoanalytic term for this is "narcissism."*

□ Carter says that he used people. *The analyst hears, "I can't love. . . ."*

□ Carter says he had "the need to improve. . . ." *The textbooks talk of the "crisis of generativity."*

The conflict between generativity and self-absorption, exemplified, for example, in Erikson's psychohistory of Martin Luther, seems to fit Carter as natu-

rally as his work shirt and his smile. Through the phases of young adulthood and the approach of maturity, men and women are absorbed in their own careers and concerns. Then, at mid-life, age 35 or 40 or 45, adults typically begin to ask themselves, what have I generated, what have I helped to create? Has my life been productive or stagnant? Can old age be faced with a sense of integrity—"all in all, I would do this over again"—or with feelings of waste and despair? What legacy or guidance is being left for the next generation?

3. The *political* interpretation of the born-again experience has to be our most speculative analysis. Consider that week in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania. Here is Jimmy Carter: Annapolis graduate, nuclear-submarine officer, recent candidate for governor—intelligent, proud, literate, well spoken. He goes door-to-door with a poorly educated, inept elderly man—Pennington, we learned from other sources, was in his seventies at the time. The old fumbler does all the talking—and it works. Converts . . . fifteen . . . sixteen . . . twenty . . . the total rolls up. "It's almost a miracle. . . ." Carter is a

“...Contrary to current notions about his mother, we believe the father to be at least as, and probably more, significant...”

changed man. He even sounds different on the phone. What is the intoxicating epiphany? Perhaps it is this: Carter has been a man of science—a cultural consolidator, in Erikson's terms. He has integrated the dominant technological development of his time—nuclear power—with his own identity development. And what did Science and Reason and Intellect get him? The voters rejected him! But old Pennington is able to reach people through feeling and belief. If a religious missionary—or a political leader—“gets down” with the people, feels with them, then he can win them over, convert them, lead them. For a politician, *that's* a miracle.

'Break Point'

We have concentrated on what Carter calls his born-again experience, and what Erikson calls the crisis of generativity, because it marks a kind of break point for Carter—religiously, psychologically, and politically. In our own interview, when we applied the phrase “break point” to the period after the governor's race, Carter replied, mildly, “That's an exaggeration. . . .” But later he added that, yes, it was a time of a “psychological problem. . . .” Of course, we recognize that other, external events during this period in Carter's life helped shape the ways in which he would move to handle the normal developmental stages of life. He encountered, for example, corrupt, selfish interests as a state senator in Georgia in the sixties. This, too, influenced his “world view.” The lesson was that the ordinary people were good, but often misled by unscrupulous, self-seeking, “entrenched politicians.” With the right leader, the people will “commit” themselves, they will pursue the truth. Carter also learned, as a state senator, that his ability to perform effective “public service” was limited by the powers above him; he needed to run for governor to have real power. As governor, he learned the limits of that office in the face of federal controls. Only as president of the United States would he have the real power to do good—and to serve ordinary people.

Jimmy Carter's identification with the people, we believe, is a mystical union (as was his union with God). There are no intermediaries. This helps explain several elements of his distinctive political style. He is not happy, or adept, at delivering prepared speeches—other people's words. He

owes nothing to the politicians, or to Washington; he is his own boss. He owes everything to the people who vote for him; they have become part of his family. Campaigning in the primaries, he slept overnight in the homes of his supporters; it is part of the sharing experience. Carter's unity with the people also means that he, like some family doctor or caring parent, constantly takes their pulse—Pat Caddell's around-the-clock polling—and checks up on their feelings. He wants to know what issues might be of the most concern to voters. While that may be shrewd politics, it also seems to be psychologically essential to him. Since the people are good when not misled, and know what is good for themselves, it follows, as gospel, that candidates do not create the issues. Rather, issues “exist in the minds and hearts of our citizens.” By merging with the citizens, Carter enters their minds and hearts.

The middle-aged Carter obviously solved his psychosocial crisis of generativity—on many levels. Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter had their fourth child in October of 1967, some fifteen years after the birth of their third child. He won the governorship the next time out in 1970, surrounding himself with a small band of loyal workers in their twenties and thirties.

Still, it wouldn't be very good psychohistory to believe that the 1966 political defeat is enough by itself to explain Carter's “new life.” Our hunch, pending more work, is that Jimmy Carter's rebirth in 1966-67 was actually a *third* birth. There was, of course, his actual “first” birth in 1924. Then, there was a kind of “second” birth at the time of his father's death in 1953. Only later, in the conversion experience of 1966-67, as we have described it, did the “third” birth occur.

Carter's Three Lives

The first-born Jimmy was very much his mother's boy. He was not a very big baby—seven to seven and a half pounds, Lillian Carter told us. At first she nursed him, but then had to put him on the bottle. Although trained as a nurse, she reports that she was concerned and nervous about her first child, as most mothers are. (With the later children, she relaxed.) Everything had to be sterile. Jimmy was rigidly scheduled. “I gave him a bottle exactly on time.” (What was that about the clockwork presidential campaign and Carter's passion for punctuality?)

As a baby, Jimmy had colic. “He cried a lot,” Lillian says. But he was a good baby—“you heard he is perfect,” Lillian said to us with a smile. Still, he had his problems. First pneumonia, and then, at age two, he “had colitis and almost died,” according to Lillian, who was pregnant at the time. It was only three weeks before her second child, Gloria, was born. Lillian tended her son, changing his diapers constantly because he was passing so much blood. In the mid-1920s, most babies with colitis died. But a doctor she had worked with during her training as a nurse gave her the right advice.

As for how his parents raised him, what counts most is what Jimmy remembers. In Carter's memories, the father looms largest. And contrary to current notions that Lillian, the mother, was the major formative influence, we believe the father to have been at least as, and probably more, significant.

His feelings about his father, and his mother, were necessarily mixed. Outwardly, he worshiped his father, who “worked harder than did I or anyone else . . .” and who was “an excellent tennis player” he could never beat. Jimmy says he never considered disobeying his father. These feelings were genuine. But with them, we believe, were other feelings.

One night, for example, his parents had a party for their friends and made so much noise, as he remembers it, that he went outside to sleep in his tree house. Later, after the guests departed, his father called to him, but the young boy refused to answer. “The next morning,” we are told in *Why Not the Best?*, “I received one of the few whippings of my boyhood, all of which I remember so well.” We sense the suppressed anger—the boy's and the man's—at his father for what must have been perceived as an unjust whipping. After all, it was his parents who had made the noise.

This anger is confirmed for us in the very next paragraph, which says: “One of the rare times I ever felt desperately sorry for my father” was when he ordered a tailor-made suit of clothes, the first of his life, and it came “twice as large as my father.” But, Carter writes, “no one in the family laughed” when his father tried it on. This is a strange juxtaposition of narratives. Psychologically, however, the story is very much in the right place. The boy-man is allowing himself to “get back” at his father, to laugh at him safely. By humiliating



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James Earl Sr., as army officer, World War I; Jimmy as navy midshipman, World War II: "I want to be a man like my father. . . ."

his father in memory, he gives vent to his anger at the unjust whipping. Because the two paragraphs seemed worrisomely pat as material for a psychohistorian, we specifically asked Carter if *he* wrote and arranged them, rather than, say, Jody Powell, Jerry Rafshoon, Hal Gulliver, or any of the other editorial hands who may have worked on the book. Carter assured us they were his words and his paragraph order. The original manuscript, he said, was around to prove it. We have no reason to think he would lie to us about it.

Skeptics of another sort may ask, "So what?" What do Carter's father's clothes have to do with his presidential candidacy?

One answer would be that this remembered episode, trivial and "personal" in itself, suggests something about the formation of Jimmy Carter's attitudes toward authority and discipline. In our view, he mainly accepted his father's "authoritarianism"—rather than revolt against it—and internalized it. This helps explain the "conservative," "disciplinarian" side of Jimmy Carter (further developed later in the navy). Yet the anger at the "injustice"

of whipping had to go somewhere, and we speculate that it may have become available for resentment against other, social injustices—and fueled an identification with victims of such injustices.

The importance of the whippings is underlined when, a few pages later in *Why Not the Best?*, Carter returns to the same theme. His father, he writes,

was a stern disciplinarian and punished me severely when I misbehaved. From the time I was four years old until I was fifteen years old, he whipped me six times and I've never forgotten any of those impressive experiences.

Extraordinary, it seems to us, to remember the exact number of whippings over the course of eleven years. We can make sense of this if we realize that what is trivial for a grown-up is momentous for young children, magnified beyond "real reality" in their "psychic reality."

Jimmy's feelings toward his father and thus toward authority and power

and, by extension, toward politics—for power is what politics is about, even the politics of love—were obviously ambivalent.

So, too, would be his feelings toward his mother. She never whipped him, though she spanked him. Where the father was "aggressive," she, as a nurse, was clearly the nurturant, caring figure. The father seldom read a book, but Jimmy's mother "was an avid reader, and so was I." Where the father "was quite conservative . . . my mother was and is a liberal." And on the critical subject of race, it was the mother who welcomed Negroes to the house, cared for "dark-skinned people," and favored integration. She was also something of a dowager of the town; in recent years she has driven a series of Cadillacs and Oldsmobiles around the red-clay and black-top roads. These days she holds court on the platform of the train station that serves as her son's presidential headquarters, as tourists and reporters snap her picture and interview her.

Jimmy Carter obviously took on many of his mother's values, as well as his father's. The danger with the mother was that a sense of right could become a feeling of self-righteousness.

“... It is a salvation in the classic pattern. Luther and Gandhi, the Eriksonian heroes, had made their quest political acts...”

At its best, of course, the mother's love would temper the father's discipline. We see a classic case of the child integrating aspects of both parents, in what is, of course, a unique mixture called Jimmy Carter. That mixture changed again in 1953, when 29-year-old Jimmy Carter came back from the navy and “took over” from his father, who had just died.

Death—and Life

Jimmy Carter began his second “new life” when his father died of cancer. (In telling Carter's story this way, we recognize that important events are tumbling by, like the pages of a calendar used to show the “passage of time” in a 1940s movie: Plains, Annapolis, marriage to Rosalynn—so like Ruth in many ways—the substitute “family” of the submarine service, the substitute “father figure” of Admiral Hyman Rickover—all of these are rich topics for a full psychohistory.) In this second life, Carter, then approaching his thirtieth birthday, returned to his basic identification with James Earl Carter Sr.—an identity he had earlier avoided by leaving home and entering the navy.

In 1953, as Jimmy Carter recalls, he had “no alternative” except to return home, despite Rosalynn's strong opposition. His mother, Lillian, explains it as a matter of economic necessity: The family peanut-growing and warehousing business was in bad shape. There is also a deeper explanation. According to Ruth Carter Stapleton, on the day their father died, Jimmy had to notify people around Plains: “We started out in the early morning. We went to black and white.” To their surprise they found out, talking to the family's friends, that their father had supplemented the income of many families of both races or helped pay for college expenses. Jimmy was visibly shaken by this knowledge. Ruth says it was “one of the few times I ever saw Jimmy cry.” (She seems to be there when it happens.) “He began to review his life,” she remembers, and “he said, ‘I want to be a man like my father.’”

In Jimmy Carter's account, as his father lay dying, hundreds of people came to speak to Carter Sr.:

It was obvious that he meant much to them, and it caused me to compare my prospective life

with his... I began to think about the relative significance of his life and mine. He was an integral part of the community, and had a wide range of varied but interrelated interests and responsibilities. He was his own boss. . . .

His father's death apparently stirred strange feelings in Jimmy Carter. Had he misjudged the “stern” father? (They had argued vehemently about race once and could never talk about the subject again; they saw very little of each other for the eleven years from 1942 to 1953.) Feelings of guilt and a need for redemption, both of himself and of his father, would be natural. In any case, Carter resigned from the navy and returned to Plains.

By the mid-1960s, Carter had become everything his father could have wanted for him: farmer, businessman, Sunday-school teacher, state legislator . . . yet he still sensed that he had failed.

Why? First of all, as Carter himself suggested to us, it seems that he wasn't *enough* like his father. “My daddy worked hard and was a meticulous planner like me,” Jimmy Carter said, “but he was an exuberant man. He had an enjoyable life, like my brother Billy. If you know my brother Billy, then you've taken a major step toward knowing my father. . . .”

We know Billy. Everyone who gets to Plains knows Billy Carter. He is a warm, generous person—a good ole boy—with a four-wheel-drive van, and a beer can in his hand before 11 A.M. He hasn't been inside a church in twenty years. A college dropout. He could not wait to break out of Plains to join the marines. At 4 A.M. the morning after his high-school graduation, he was on his way to boot camp. “I wanted to be badass,” he told us.

Billy Carter and James Earl Carter Sr. knew how to relax, to take defeat. Jimmy Carter didn't know how. He was too proud, too self-righteous. And so he failed—himself and his father.

And then . . . he is accepted by God the Father, and by his earthly father. It is a salvation in the classic pattern of psychohistory. Luther and Gandhi, the Eriksonian heroes, had made their quest for salvation political acts. In solving their personal problems, they turned their faith to service and leadership. So, too, with Carter.

Politics means a fulfillment for Car-

ter. He can identify with his father and mother but especially his father—earn redemption, and secure for himself the love that supports self-esteem. Psychologically, this really becomes a “new life.”

Character—and Risk

Can such tentative facts and interpretations serve as a basis for making any judgments about Jimmy Carter's character? We believe so.

There would seem to be at least some reason for concern. In Carter's public smile and his private balling, some see the “macho” Kennedy or Lyndon Johnson (the southern provincial), or even Thomas E. Dewey (the overconfident, arrogant little man on the wedding cake).

To some people, to take the scariest concern, Carter looks like Richard Nixon. In the life of each man there appears to be the “liberal” mother and the “conservative” father. Nixon, too, had a “conversion” experience, one going back to his fourteenth year, when his father took him to a revivalist meeting in Los Angeles. Both men believe in the work ethic. Both are tenacious. Both are supposedly humorless. Both talk much about roots. Both reassure audiences of their “honesty.” Nixon said, “I am not a crook.” Carter says, “I will never lie to you.”

But we believe these supposed resemblances are superficial or misleading—or both. Nixon talked religion, but, on the available evidence, he was not guided by it. Carter really has roots. He can drive seven miles down the macadam road and show you family gravestones dating from the 1800s. He moves *out* from the South, not *away* from it. Nixon's father was a failed man. Nixon's anger and hate ran so deep and threateningly he had to deny their existence completely; he never came to terms with them.

In James David Barber's study of presidential character—which Carter says is the best book on politics he's ever read—Richard Nixon was classified as an Active/Negative president. According to Barber, this character type works hard and long at being president, but, basically, Active/Negatives are psychologically rigid and eternally dissatisfied with their accomplishments. They push too much. They are headed at some point for disaster. Active/Positives, on the other hand, like Franklin Delano Roosevelt, work hard and enjoy their White House jobs.



Ruth, Jimmy, and Billy Carter: From the sister, the lesson of commitment. From the brother, the lesson of enjoyment.

There was, as it happens, another Active/Negative president with more than surface resemblances to Jimmy Carter: Woodrow Wilson.

Like Carter, Wilson was a Southerner. Wilson, too, was guided by his religion, strict Presbyterianism (his father was a minister). Elected as governor of New Jersey by the "conservative" interests, Wilson surprised them by his liberal administration. Like Carter, Wilson also proclaimed himself independent of party "bosses" and the "interests." He, too, professed direct links to the American people. Angered at the Senate's refusal to ratify the League of Nations covenant as he proposed it, Wilson took his campaign directly to the people, lost his battle—and his health. When he couldn't reach the people, he felt crushed spiritually.

James Earl Sr., Lillian . . . Kennedy, Johnson, FDR, Nixon, Wilson . . . which one is the *real* Jimmy Carter? Jimmy, of course, is himself. His feelings toward his mother and father and their use of authority, love, and discipline must be understood in the larger context of the American South, where race polarized political attitudes and com-

plicated Jimmy's identity with his parents. His character was formed, as with all of us, most fatefully in his family.

But what kind of president, a public man, will he make if elected? Active/Negative, like Wilson, or Active/Positive, like FDR? The answer depends, in part, on a review of his political record, but, even more important, on how convinced we are of the validity of what we have called his "third" birth. Here, in a kind of mystical experience, he apparently found himself—actually, a "new" self—as well as a new vision of the American people.

In our view, too, Carter's greatest present strength—his intimate union with the American people—could be his greatest potential weakness. He *needs* this sense of communion, of oneness with the body politic, in the Wilson mode. Will he feel frustrated and thwarted by any intermediary agents—the Congress, the courts, the press—that come between him as president and "his" people? Will he, when a major issue is joined, accept counterbalancing powers if he should feel, as Wilson did, that he has a mandate directly from the electorate? For us, that's *the* character issue.

A bottom line of sorts, then: On the basis of the present evidence, our answer would be that Carter has come unusually close to that perilous Active/Negative character type. Almost miraculously, he has saved himself from falling over the line. Through the intense self-scrutiny expressed in his born-again experience—and still going on—Jimmy Carter has learned two cardinal lessons: the ability to love others and the ability to admit mistakes, to accept failure. He has won his "new life" by grim effort, though he may suffer occasional relapses—what psychoanalysts would call regressions. His temper breaks through at times; he still can be "prideful." Yet Jimmy Carter has become a mature person of serenity, one with a sense of community that communicates itself readily to the public. What in others might combine to make fatal character flaws have in him become, so far, strengths.

From the psychohistorian's perspective, the first-born Carter would not be running for national office. The second-born Carter would be a marginal candidate. But the third-born Carter, at least provisionally, would get a good character reference.



Raising the personality issue

By KEVIN P. PHILLIPS

Turnabout is fair play, so it's a little hard to agree with Jimmy Carter's angry protest that the Republicans are committing an outrage by attacking him personally rather than discussing jobs or economic policy.

After all, emphasis upon personal trust rather than specific issues was the Georgian's own game in the Spring primaries, and he played it coolly and well. From New Hampshire on, the big issues have never been the big issue. Jimmy Carter has. Or rather Jimmy Carter's character, honesty and leadership capacities.

Thus, when Vice President Nelson Rockefeller and Texas GOP Sen. John Tower start flinging verbal hatchets like "ruthless," "dictator" and "messiah" at Carter, they may be taking a political risk, but they're also fighting the Democratic nominee on the very field of combat he himself marked off in the spring trials.

What's more, listening to Carter, you'd think that inquiry into personal character and ego drives of presidential candidates ought to be out of bounds. Not so. After a decade of severe character-ego problems in two presidents, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, some pre-election inquiry is clearly in order. Yet press neglect has been woeful. Only the other day, Allen Otten of The Wall Street Journal belabored his colleagues: "Perhaps the greatest omission has been the press's failure to attempt any broad analysis of each candidate's character."

Paradoxically, only three years ago, both the press and the Democratic party were actively encouraging examination of the psychological and emotional history of a man who might be in line for the presidency. That man was Gerald Ford, and during Congress' autumn, 1973, vice presidential confirmation hearings, New York psychiatrist Arnold Hutschnecker was brought to Washington to discuss rumors and reports that he had treated Mr. Ford during a period of difficulty. It was a false alarm.



Still, say what you like about President Ford, he now stands before us as the sole candidate already psychologically certified by hostile partisans, as well as by two safe years in office. If Mr. Nice Guy from Grand Rapids ever tried to be a man on a white horse, he'd probably fall off, and then grin in embarrassment.

In contrast, Jimmy Carter has left a trail of personal tactics, traits and remarks that ought to be catnip for psycho-historians. To start with, he can't stand to lose. After his 1966 Georgia gubernatorial primary defeat, Carter had something of a breakdown, and then came his big religious experience. He still won't describe it, except to say it "was not a profound stroke or miracle. It was not a voice from heaven. . . It was not mysterious."

He's tightly wound and intensely disciplined, but occasionally a bad temper breaks free. To guard his self control, candidate Carter has forsworn liquor for the duration of the campaign, reportedly declining even a cold beer. As for power and release, back in March, he told a Washington Post interviewer that he owned and listened to records of surging automobile engines, and that he had loved serving on a submarine with its "kind of liberation from the restraints of civilized life."

Even friends have openly described him as ruthless. His own mother calls him "a cat with steel claws" and senior advisor Charles Kirbo tells about how Carter couldn't wait to get to the office to fire people in his first months as governor. Surely all this is grounds for some of that analysis reporter Otten was talking about?

As for the labels of "dictator" and "Messiah," Carter does fit some yardsticks applied to Oliver Cromwell, Lenin and others by psycho-historian Bruce Mazlish in his new study of "The Revolutionary Ascetic." Among the qualities such men share are ruthlessness, puritanism, intensity and iron self-discipline.

However, a caution is in order: if the Republicans want to charge Carter with being a Chattahoochee River Cromwell, a likeness also seen by some liberals, they had better do so with sophistication, presenting careful psychological and comparative historical analysis. If they merely indulge in shallow, intermittent namecalling, then I think Jimmy Carter's evaluation will be correct. The American people are likely to resent it.

CARTER: SOUTHERN APPEAL

Carter

The Los Angeles Times, April 20, 76

Carter's Southern Comfort

BY GEORGE F. WILL



WASHINGTON—The approach of their convention is going to concentrate many Democrats' minds on the fact that one object of the pre-convention steeplechase is to identify a candidate who can win in November. Soon the waves of this idea will lap like an irresistible tide at the edges of the Democratic Party's mind, and it may work to Jimmy Carter's advantage.

To win requires 270 of the 538 electoral votes. President Ford might have a more difficult time winning that total against Carter than against any of Carter's rivals. The nomination of Carter might confer on the Democratic Party an effortless "Southern strategy."

After their 1960 defeat, some Republicans eudged their brains and produced the thought that a Republican presidential candidacy is not competitive unless it has substantial appeal in the South. This idea was, and is, far more valid than the rubidish theory of an "emerging Republican majority" with which it originally was entangled. To understand why, first look away from deep Dixie.

Today, Democrats hold governorships in 8 of the 10 largest states: California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Texas, Florida. These states have 213 electoral votes. If in 1974 a few thousand votes had gone the other way in Ohio and Michigan (25 and 21 electoral votes, respectively), Democrats would have all 10 governorships.

In these 10 states with 259 electoral votes (11 short of the winning sum), Democrats in 1974 elected 162 representatives, the GOP just 77, a better than 2-1 Democratic advantage. In addition, in 1972 George McGovern proved that it is impossible for any Democrat with a body temperature of 98.6 degrees to lose the District of Columbia's three electoral votes. (McGovern got 75% of the District vote.)

Given the disparity between the strengths of the two parties in this bloc, it is safe to assume that the Republican presidential candidate generally enters the competition there with the odds against him winning a majority of the electoral votes.

... following Southern Louisiana, Miss-

issippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina. They have 91 electoral votes. A Republican candidate needs to start with a realistic hope of carrying a substantial number of Southern electoral votes to compensate for his weakness in the larger states. Otherwise, he starts with more weight in his saddle than Secretariat could carry.

But Carter would start seeking the South's electoral votes with the special advantage of a native son in a region that still cares (as, say, the East does not) about having its distinctive nature acknowledged and accepted. More than any other region, the South still is, in fact, a region with a sense of itself, a "mind of its own." The inexpressibly tedious recent brouhaha about Carter's "ethnic purity" remark surely heightened Southern awareness of the fact that vocal non-Southerners still regard Southerners as faintly suspect, even disagreeable.

A Southerner does not need to be as sensitive as the Jodrell Bank antenna to detect anti-Southern prejudice in the jubilant assault on Carter as a result of his clumsy expression of a housing policy that differs not at all from national policy or from his rivals' views. Suddenly, on the basis of those few words, it became permissible for Carter's critics (most of them white) to suggest that Carter is a racist. One critic told me that the words prove that Carter is a "reclivist"—that is, a racist, who once may have been cured, but whose cure has lapsed. Note the assumption: Southerners are "by nature" afflicted with the disease of racism.

It used to be said that anti-Catholicism was the "anti-Semitism of the intellectuals": It was the "respectable" bigotry. Today, anti-Southern sentiment is the "respectable McCarthyism." Among a significant number of Americans (predominantly white, Northern, liberal) it is good form to assume the worst of Southerners, to casually impute to them vicious views on race.

If many Southerners take personally the attempted mugging of Carter on the matter of "ethnic purity," and they have a right to do so, it will only enhance his candidacy as a "cause" in his region. And without substantial strength in that region, the Ford candidacy will be a lost cause.

C-21

Can Ex-sub Skipper Run Ship of State?
(By Eleanor Randolph, excerpted, Chicago Tribune)



Jimmy Carter, who now wants to run the country, was only governor of Georgia for four years, from 1970 to 1974, because state law doesn't allow governors to succeed themselves. But in that short time, the politician-nuclear physicist peanut farmer earned a striking reputation in his home state.

Some people, including old statehouse politicians call him "butt-headed." Some, like a determined young conservationist who got Carter's help in trying to save Atlanta's trees, call him strong-willed and principled.

In the various assessments by Georgians who watched Carter as governor and predict what he would be like as President, he is honest, determined, opportunistic, inflexible, tough, high and mighty, and sincere. He is a loner who surrounds himself with young aides instead of a few old friends. He is a kind of self-ordained Sir Lancelot who "thinks God is on his side and doesn't give a damn who's on the other."

For those who disagreed with Carter, he became more than a standard political adversary. He was an enemy. For those who liked what he said and encouraged him to run for the Democratic nomination for President, Jimmy Carter would be the best chief executive since Harry Truman.

In spite of differences with most state legislators, Carter got 90 percent of his programs passed. And the one program that the candidate from Plains, Ga., always mentions on the campaign trail is his reorganization of the Georgia state government.

Carter boasts that he reduced 200 agencies of the Georgia bureaucracy to 22 -- a dramatic change that increased the efficiency and cut the cost of state government. If elected, Carter promises that he could carve the federal government's 1,900 agencies down to 200. -- (2/11/76)

Carter's strong showing surprises friends, foes alike in Georgia

By Ted Bryant
Staff Writer

ATLANTA—Weaving through the rush hour traffic on Peachtree-st, the cab driver, as cab drivers are prone to do, summed up the political situation in one pithy statement:

"Carter's the man. Everybody's saying good things about him, so he must be doing something right."

While it doesn't tell the full story, the cab driver's summation is close.

Not everybody in Georgia is saying good things about Jimmy Carter, but not so many are saying bad things anymore.

When Jimmy Carter announced in July, 1974, that he would run for president two years later, an Atlanta newspaper editor thanked him for providing a good laugh just when Georgians needed it.

The thinking inside Georgia's political structure was that the former Georgia governor couldn't be elected in his home state again.

Now, there appears to be no doubt at all that the Plains, Ga., peanut farmer and businessman not only will sweep Georgia's May 4 primary, but his bandwagon is rolling toward Alabama where it could—not likely, but just possibly—upset George Wallace and pick up some national convention delegates on the same day in May.

Just a few weeks ago, any thought of Carter beating Wallace in Alabama would have been as funny as his announcement in 1974.

But instead of laughing, Georgians, both friendly and unfriendly toward Carter's campaign, are showing a single emotion—surprise.

Few dreamed six months ago that the former governor could be leading the Democratic field in quest of delegates across the nation and be on the verge of building an even larger head of steam if he wins big in Pennsylvania next week.

Even Tom Murphy, the crusty speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives who makes no secret of his dislike for Carter, admits, "He's surprised all of us in Georgia very much."

Murphy supported Carter in his two

gubernatorial races, but the two parted ways after Carter made accusations about the speaker's dealings with the state pardon and parole board during the last year of the governor's administration. They have shaken hands once since then, Murphy said.

Going so far as to say he'll support Carter if he wins the nomination, Murphy predicts Carter will take the Georgia primary, at least partially on a vote of Georgians supporting their own.

If he's right, and polls show he is, that eliminates one threat that was hanging over the Carter campaign a few months ago—the possibility of losing his home state.

But Murphy still gives a poor rating to Carter's performance in the governor's office. That only makes him one of many Georgia political activists who have definite opinions about the former governor, some willing to be quoted and some not.

Carter has picked up the support of the state's lieutenant governor and attorney general by outright endorsement. According to an aide to Gov.

George Busbee, Carter is likely to get the governor as an active worker after the Georgia primary.

An aide to Atlanta's black mayor, Maynard Jackson, said the mayor also was willing to endorse Carter before the "ethnic purity" statement of two weeks ago, but has now backed off.

"That sent tremors through the black leadership," Jackson's aide said.

One highly placed spokesman for the Democratic party in Georgia compared Carter to former President Nixon in one respect, a continuing vengeance toward former political enemies.

He never attempted to make up with those who opposed him in the 1970 gubernatorial race, the source said.

The feeling among many party leaders and elected officials, down to the county level, is one of "apprehension, a great big game of waiting and watching," according to the spokesman, who asked not to be quoted by name.

Murphy was particularly critical of the former governor's refusal to compromise, saying it resulted in a poor

relationship with the General Assembly, the House in particular, and the failure of some legislation to pass.

The speaker, however, leaves the impression that he wanted to compromise in favor of big business and the points he used to criticize Carter would be used by others to praise him.

On consumer protection, for example, Murphy said Carter's proposals would have put merchants out of business, a phrase that often crops up from opponents of meaningful consumer protection or environmental legislation.

Murphy also blames Carter for leaving the state in poor financial condition—\$135 million had to be cut from the budget last year, the first year of the new administration, and another \$55 million this year.

Carter supporters, however, say Georgia was hit hard by recession during the last two years and the resulting tax loss was to blame for the budget trimming.

Murphy also contends that Carter's highly-touted reorganization of state government is costing Georgia taxpayers \$175 million a year and said the reorganization bunched up about 50 per cent of all state employes under the broad state department of human resources.

"We're really just trying to figure out where everything is," Murphy said.

He also claims Carter approved raises for 75 per cent of the state employes making \$10,000 or more without the General Assembly's knowledge, but fewer than 15 per cent of those making under \$10,000 had raises.

Carter's record in Georgia, like that of any governor, is being praised and condemned at the same time, mostly depending on the politics of the person talking.

Regardless of how it will go down in history, however, the record probably will be discussed in Alabama during the next two weeks, particularly if Wallace decides to do much campaigning to defend himself here. Carter has been discussing Wallace's record since the campaign's early beginnings.

The Atlantic Constitution, May 1, 76

William Safire

Rolling With the Carterwagon

WASHINGTON — Jimmy Carter is no longer merely the Democratic frontrunner. With Pennsylvania in his pocket, he is now the likely Democratic presidential nominee, an Emergence that has different effects on several groups:



1. **THE NEW "OUTS"**. The old Democratic establishment "Ins" are, at the moment, the new "Outs". They will coalesce to form the sort of desperate stop-movement that Nelson Rockefeller threw together behind William Scranton in 1964 to stop Goldwater, and with the same meager result.

But the real political purpose of a stop-movement is often not so much to derail a moving bandwagon as to induce its riders to treat kindly with the polls not yet aboard. The ousted powers need to make a show of strength in order to be able to acquiesce in dignity.

2. **THE NEW INS**. Carter and his people, confronted with the impression of their own inevitability, are likely to adopt new tactics. Having stressed the outsider image, they will now become more absorbent and less worrisome to insiders. They will alternate the stick (You bosses better not gang up) with the carrot (Regulars are welcome).

They will be faced with a strategic decision: to reach leftward for a traditional liberal Vice President, like Mo Udall or Fritz Mondale, or to gamble on an all-outsider, all-new ticket, with

a running mate like keep-it-flowing Gurunor Jerry Brown. (Neither Hubert Humphrey nor Scoop Jackson is likely to be interested in number two, nor is Carter likely to hold still for a wild card like Ted Kennedy.)

On previous form, Carter is more likely to play it safe with the wide-spectrum approach, moving left and to an experienced legislator, rather than press his antipolitical strength with another young governor.

3. **THE IMMEDIATE ADVERSARY**. The media (or, if you like us, the press) will shift gears to deal with the Emergence. Ever since R. W. Apple Jr. of The New York Times reported last year that the Carter campaign was taking hold, the ensuing reaction has ranged from a profound distrust of an unwounded protesting at scars to a glee at the prospect of writing about somebody almost as deliciously remote as the departed Nixon.

Now, however, the same seductive mystery turns into "the fuzziness issue." To show that he is not fuzzy on bread-and-butter issues, Carter recently issued an economic position paper. It was ignored, of course, as position papers are supposed to be; they are intended to be tangible evidence of unfuzziness, to be pointed to in interviews as "thoughtful backup", but not to be examined so soon. After the Emergence, however, the press will mine the papers for contradictions, for a dangerously new idea.

In his economic paper, for example, Carter puts forward the notion that the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board be appointed to a term "co-terminous with the President's" — not overlapping, as it presently is, to help

insulate the Fed from political domination.

Although giving lip service to the Fed's independence — necessary, while Burns roams — the Carter plan to give a President "his own chairman" would force the presently independent Fed to share a "joint responsibility" with Treasury and OMB to issue a "coordinated report that their policies are mutually consistent." Monetary policy, now wisely decentralized, would be controlled more tightly by the White House in Carter's politicization.

Such positions are now considered MEGO — my eyes glaze over — but one day soon this, and other ideas, will be seized upon as typical of White House power grabs worthy of detailed discussion by a man with a 50-50 chance of going all the way.

4. **THE ULTIMATE ADVERSARY**. The fact of a center-right, cool Southerner as the Democratic nominee powerfully concentrates the mind of the would-be Republican nominee. From Texas to California in the coming month, Reagan will be making the point that his Southern and Western appeal is needed to turn back Carter, while Ford will be stirring up talk of a sun-belted running mate to counter the Carterites.

And who might that be? At private gatherings, Nelson Rockefeller — after hinting darkly at Reds under senatorial beds — has been warning his friends about a tall, silver-haired Texan that he thinks is plotting to succeed him as Vice President.

Considering the way Republican conventions react to Rockefeller desires, it could be that Carter Emergence could well be followed by the comeback of John Connally.

Ford did. Second, Ford had the Massachusetts primary locked up and, at the time, appeared to be in no political trouble at all.

The result of this political gambit has been to raise the hopes of Bostonians only to dash them again two weeks later. Such things cause frustration and anger and give added impetus to the more militant, violent-prone segments of the anti-busing movement. On the other hand, the situation is not without its brighter side. In less than two years, the Boston anti-busing movement has become so influential that it has reached the highest office of the land. This bodes well for the future.

We may have been rebuffed this time, but there is clear progress here. As the political organization and strength develop, the truly and effective political victories will come. My guess is that, not in 1976 but probably by 1978, the anti-busing forces will be able to effect changes on both the local and national stages. Then we'll see things happen. -- (6/2/76)

Ford Riding the School Bus
(Editorial, excerpted, Montgomery Advertiser)

It may be just a campaign ploy, or President Ford may really be serious about the matter; but despite his reasons, he's going to find himself mired down once he gets both feet into the busing issue.

With Jimmy Carter's popularity in Dixie, the President may want an issue that might be popular to the Solid South.

A strong anti-busing stand could also endear the President to sections of the North, where busing to achieve integration has all but destroyed public education.

But there is a strong element of liberals and blacks in this country who could never stand for waffling on the issue. The whites who support the monster generally have their children in all-white schools, so its a moral issue rather than a practical matter with them.

The Ford plan would end some of the judicial arrogance that has, in some cases, destroyed public school systems. It would take a more practical approach to the matter. As we read reports of the President's proposal, it would follow much of the path taken by the Civil Rights Act. However, this document has been ignored in many cases by federal judges. So, what's to keep them from doing the same to the Ford plan?

We have reservations about the President's motives, and also about his chances for success. Is this the action of a sincere, or a desperate man? -- (6/4/76)

Carter 8 1976

The Battle For the South X

4-4-76
D By James Reston

WASHINGTON, April 3 — Pete Lisagor of The Chicago Daily News, who may be the best newspaper reporter and wisest television commentator in this town, poked fun at the Washington Establishment here this weekend.

Washington, he said, quoting Mark Twain, was a city which believes that truth is the most valuable thing we have, and therefore should be used very sparingly. Three men could keep a secret, he added, supporting Ben Franklin, if two of them are dead.

As president of the Gridiron Club, which may be the last reluctant remnant of the old Washington Establishment, Lisagor was arguing almost sadly that what the capital needed was a sense of humor and a sense of history.

For 91 years the Gridiron Club here has been singing the same theme, usually off key: We are all in trouble, fussing with one another most of the time, but "America is a tune and must be sung together."

Most Presidents are not amused by these critical and sometimes savage amateur performances. Presidents Nixon and Johnson tolerated them at first but skipped them and condemned them in their last years in the White House. President Ford came around this weekend and brought his wife. "Once in love with Betty," sang the Gridiron chorus, "always in love with Betty."

All the Presidential candidates were invited to the Gridiron this year, but most of them declined. Maybe it's

WASHINGTON

significant that of all the candidates and noncandidates, Jimmy Carter agreed to speak for the Democrats, and former Gov. John Connally of Texas for the Republicans.

This tells us something about the element of accident in American politics. Not so long ago, Jimmy Carter was an obscure and controversial regional figure, and John Connally was a prominent national personality.

In contrast, Carter has come from nowhere and challenged the old Democrats who are left; yet, here were Carter and Connally together at the Gridiron, talking for the two major parties that didn't choose them or want them. Their remarks were off the record, but seldom in the long history of the Gridiron or the Washington political Establishment has there been a more bizarre personal confrontation.

It is interesting and maybe significant that the other major candidates for the Presidency declined invitations to appear on this occasion. Former Governor Reagan of California was the natural choice as spokesman for the Republican Party, and this would have seemed to be the ideal occasion for his ideological and theatrical talents, but he passed it up.

Jimmy Carter, on the other hand, never passes up any invitation, if it gives him a chance to put his personality and political arguments on the line, particularly here in Washington where he has a national audience.

Normally, the Gridiron weekend has no political significance, but in Presidential election years, these annual meetings of candidates, reporters, publishers and their guest can be important.

Presidential candidates cannot win but they can lose at this time, and in the confrontation of Carter and Connally, we may be seeing a battle for the South in November.

Carter's success in the early primary elections has fascinated and troubled the leaders of both major political parties here, and the labor union chieftains as well. They don't quite know what to do about Carter, don't know whether they can control him, and wonder whether they can stop him.

The Democratic Party leaders think they can hold the Northern industrial states with Hubert Humphrey or Henry Jackson and maybe even with Carter, but Carter, they feel, may hold the South and bring them back to the White House after eight long years.

This worries the Republicans at the same time. They have been making great progress in the old Confederate states of the South, but as Carter wins one primary after another, they are beginning to think of a Southern running mate for Mr. Ford, maybe Big John Connally of Texas.

The thought in Washington recently has been that the Presidential election is running toward a Ford-Carter race in the fall, or to a Humphrey-Carter ticket against Ford and somebody else who can balance Carter in the South. In any event, the South is finally and clearly coming to the fore, and may hold the decisive balance, with Mr.

Carter's Jay With Issues Bothers Voters

Carter

MARION, Ill.—For months now, one of the standard components of Jimmy Carter's campaign speech has been a litany of American heroes ranging from Washington and Lincoln to Franklin D. Roosevelt and Martin Luther King Jr.

But last week, before all-white audiences in racially intransigent areas of the South, the soft-spoken Presidential candidate, who is favored to win the Illinois Democratic primary on Tuesday, reportedly omitted the name of the only black man on the list, his fellow Georgian, the late Dr. King.

"Did you forget?" he was asked on Tuesday, the day that he won the Florida Democratic primary by attracting thousands of votes that went to Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama four years ago.

"No," he said finally, icy-eyed and, for a change, unsmiling. "No, I didn't forget."

Perhaps it was only a small footnote to the voluminous chronicle of his quest for the

White House, but it may also have been an important reflection of the man behind the now familiar grin, a momentarily vivid example of the best and the worst of Jimmy Carter.

"And," he added after a while, "I won't ever do it again."

It is with just such a blend of candor and expedience, along with his tireless energy and superior organization, that Mr. Carter has blossomed from anonymous obscurity to front-running popularity in the grueling, grinding race for his party's 1976 Presidential nomination.

But that same clash of blunt honesty and deftly shaded rhetoric has also become the premise of the sizable opposition gathering against him, and could very well become the essential, overriding issue of his campaign.

Much of that opposition, understandably, has been generat-

ed by the partisan loyalties of those wedded to other candidates; some of it, predictably, has arisen from the party's traditionally persnickety and persistently frustrated liberal wing; and some of it is coming from nothing more rational than regional bias.

Many Concerned

Still, there are substantial numbers of other Americans who are simultaneously impressed with Mr. Carter's promise not to lie but sincerely concerned about his consummate political instincts and expertise.

In conversations along the trail of his campaign, from Tulsa to Boston to Miami and here to southern Illinois, dozens of voters have suggested that his most formidable asset—the uncanny knack of sliding softly over and around the thorniest issues and questions—could be his most troublesome liability.

"I like him," conceded an insurance salesman in Miami last week. "I honest-to-God like him, but I'm not sure why and that really bothers me."

Similarly, a middle-aged woman in Hickory, N.C., said last Tuesday that although she would vote for him in the Democratic primary there on March 23, she was "basically uncertain that he is a man who has a strong opinion on anything."

That, of course, is not precisely accurate, for Mr. Carter, the 51-year-old, former Governor of Georgia, holds firm views on a variety of subjects. It is in the manner in which he states them—or keeps silent on them—that the perception of him as opinionless is registered.

In most cases, Mr. Carter and his aides have admitted, it is a conscious technique, and in most cases, they have suggested, it is beneficial to him and the continuing success of his campaign, an effort to

catch a broad middle ground of the party and the country.

Whether their strategy proves valid, the style seems to suit the candidate. Time after time, he has attempted to use lan-

guage to tint an issue, as he did for instance in Tampa, Fla., at the beginning of last week.

Asked if he had promised to nominate Governor Wallace at the 1972 Democratic convention (as Mr. Wallace has often said he did), Mr. Carter denied that was true and said there was proof of that denial in a telegram he had sent to the Alabama Governor.

"I told him I'd have to decline the honor of nominating him," he said as the television cameras whirred and the tape recorders registered his every word.

Did he use the term "honor" in his telegram? He was asked.

"No, I'm using it now," he said.

Sincerely or sarcastically? "I used it deliberately," he said.

But sincerely or sarcastically? "Well, if it had been an honor to nominate him," he said curtly, "I would have nominated him. Does that answer the question?"

Leaving an Impression

His apparent intention, before the questions became so insistent, was to leave the impression that although he had not nominated Governor Wallace—he nominated Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, now one of his major opponents—it was not an entirely unacceptable idea.

"I think he wants to have it both ways," one Florida politician said last week. It was not meant as a criticism. "He does most of the time, too," he added, "better than most of us."

If that is true, it is due at least in part to the fact that Mr. Carter may be one of the smartest men to run for President in a long time. He is well read and well educated, an Annapolis graduate out of Georgia Tech who is fission or existentialism.

comfortable discussing nuclear All during his campaign, those who have come to know

him away from his rallies have come away impressed with the breadth of his mind—its thorough quickness, its eclectic curiosity.

They have also been struck by the singlemindedness of his present pursuit—the profound depths of his ambition to be President of the United States.

"I don't think anybody wants it more than he does," one friend has suggested. "I don't think anybody ever has."

Opinions Obscured

Given that passion and Mr. Carter's belief that he can win only by appealing to voters on the basis of his personal honesty and not by trying to rally them around some ideological standard, it is little wonder that his rhetoric occasionally obscures his opinions.

In public, for instance, he says that he wishes nothing more than for Richard M. Nixon, whose impeachment he urged long before many other people, will live out his life in peace.

"I pray that he will find peace," he said in South Carolina several weeks ago.

Later that day in his chartered jet, he told a reporter that he detested, Mr. Nixon.

"I've always felt that way about him," he said. "Always will."

Mr. Carter patiently answers all the questions he receives about abortion, gun control, amnesty, pardon and other issues, explaining in great detail over and over again, but skillfully using his words to offend the fewest on either side.

Pardon, Not Amnesty

"Amnesty for those who defected during the Vietnam war mean 'What you did was right,' " he says. "I don't believe it was right, so I'm against amnesty. I'm for a general pardon. A pardon means that it doesn't matter whether it was right or wrong, it's forgiven."

But that is not what Mr. Carter believes a pardon connotes, in the case of either Mr. Nixon or Vietnam defectors. He has said he believes it has an assumption of guilt, but he does not say that often in public.

"But I don't give a damn about those issues," he said one day in an interview. "You'll never get anybody to agree on them. You won't even get a consensus on them."

That may be the reason he omitted Dr. King's name from his litany of heroes last week, promising never to do it again.

And, when he came here to Marion, as racially conservative a community as any town in Georgia, he was true to his word. He did not leave out Dr. King's name.

He omitted the entire list.

Washington Post, Jan. 22, 76

Carter Finds His Words Are Watched

By Jules Witcover

Washington Post Staff Writer

NASHUA, N.H., Jan. 26 — Jimmy Carter, basking in the spotlight of his victory in Iowa's precinct caucuses, was winding up his answer to a question at the Hillsboro County Democratic Committee's presidential candidates' night. The question was on mandatory school busing, which Carter opposes and he concluded by saying:

"Voluntary integration, yes. Forced integration, no."

And then he sat down, as eyebrows arched upward throughout the audience. Forced integration? Surely Carter could not have meant what he said. Even Gov. George Wallace of Alabama wasn't advocating opposition to integration anymore.

Only moments earlier, the former governor of Georgia had said that "the best thing that ever happened to the South" was passage of the federal civil rights acts. Clearly, he must have meant to say "forced busing." Reporters rushed to ask him for a clarification, but he was out of the hall before they could reach him.

The next morning, Carter told reporters that staff aides had informed him of what he had said. Of course, he said, he had misspoken; he was sorry if he had confused anyone and he hoped nobody misunderstood.

A few short months ago, had Jimmy Carter made such a slip, few probably would have noticed. Then he was an obscure longshot who drew little press coverage and even less public attention.

But today, as a result of his early 1976 success, Carter is both the man to watch in the great Democratic presidential elimination contest and a man who must watch his words more carefully, lest he talk himself into trouble.

Suddenly, the soft-spoken, courtly Georgian who had been methodically working the nation's precincts like some political Willy Loman, finds his route crowded with reporters and television cameramen, poised with tape recorders and notepads to capture and transmit whatever he says.

As he campaigns through New Hampshire in quest of another victory in the nation's first 1976 primary on Feb. 24, he is interrogated repeatedly on issues of real or suspected

vulnerability. Doggedly, but always with his trademark smile, he answers — choosing his words more prudently now, aware of the higher stakes for which he is playing.

"It's an understandable position to be in," Carter says, "and I'm at ease with it. The close scrutiny that I can expect to undergo is reasonable and proper, and if I can't stand up to the scrutiny and answer the detailed questions that are put to me in a reasonable way, then I don't deserve to be President. If I don't feel inadequate, I don't feel threatened' and I think it is becoming obvious I'll have to be very careful..."

Carter's "forced integration" slip was only the latest in a series of difficulties he has recently encountered as a consequence of the closer scrutiny being applied to him.

In Manchester, N.H., last week, he was quoted as calling Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) a "loser" and, after the story went out around the country, complained that his remarks had been "incorrectly interpreted as being critical of my friend," Humphrey. He was only saying, he explained, that as one who had been "a losing candidate in previous elections," Humphrey would have trouble in another general election "unless he proves his ability to win in the 1976 primaries."

Of greater moment were remarks attributed to him on the subject of (abortion) in Iowa, where a Catholic newspaper and newsletter had him saying he was against an anti-abortion constitutional amendment, but would support "a national statute" that might restrict abortions.

Opponents in the Iowa caucuses accused Carter of intentionally creating a murky view of where he stood, and thus seeming more anti-abortion to the right-to-life constituency than the other candidates, all of whom were categorically opposed to a constitutional amendment.

This is the way Carter now explains that flap:

"The confusion in Iowa did not originate because of any change of position of my own. I've had a very consistent position on abortion for several years. I think that abortion is wrong. I don't think the government should do anything to encourage abortion. I believe that positive action should be taken

in better education, better family planning programs, the availability of contraceptive devices for those who believe in their use, better adoption procedures to minimize abortions.

"I recognize that abortion in every instance almost is a result of failure in the prevention of pregnancy or in the failure to induce a mother to want to carry her child to delivery when an unwanted pregnancy occurs. I do not favor the constitutional amendment that would prohibit all abortions. I do not favor the constitutional amendment that would give the states local option.

"Within the bounds of the present Supreme Court ruling, I would consider, in answer to a question I got in Iowa, a general law that would take preventive steps to minimize dependence on abortion such as those I've already described — education programs, family planning programs, contraceptive advice and availability and adoption procedures."

Carter said the confusion arose in Iowa when a Catholic working for another candidate (unnamed by Carter) charged that a reprinting of this advocacy of a "general law" was "a misleading statement that led some people to believe that I favored a constitutional amendment on this subject."

Such was never his purpose, Carter said. He dictated his exact position on abortion for public dissemination three days ahead of the Iowa voting "so there would be no person in Iowa who voted for me with a misconception of my position on abortion." Carter ran strongly ahead of the field in the state's Catholic strongholds, Dubuque and Carroll County.

Still another question beginning to be asked of Carter, now that he is taken seriously as a candidate, is how he can say he will reorganize the federal bureaucracy as President by reducing 1,900 federal agencies to about 200 — when he declines to say which agencies will be terminated and which kept.

To this, Carter insists that it is unreasonable for the press

to expect him to come up with such specifics until he becomes President and can make a thorough study, such as he did in Georgia in reducing the state bureaucracy from about 300 agencies to 22, at an initial savings of \$53 million in a \$1.5 billion budget.

"To have this concentrated attention on myself and the other candidates by the press at this early stage is really extraordinary," he says. "I think this is a development that possibly will make the press more demanding than they should be on final answers on complicated questions at the early stage of a campaign, when the accumulation of advisers and the detailed analysis of major programs is unavailable to the average candidate who doesn't yet have the stature and the time of the nominee himself. I'll just have to be frank in saying I don't know the answer to a question when the question is too demanding."

The "logical progression" of events to accomplish his own reorganization, he says, is to run with the broad outlines of his program as a key part of his platform.

Then, as the Democratic nominee, he would try to get as many Democratic candidates for Congress as he could to pledge as part of their own campaigns to give the necessary legislative approval to the Carter housecleaning. As President, he says, he would then undertake a 2-1/2-to-3-year study of the bureaucracy, culminating in the reorganization.

"I don't care how much I'm questioned. I don't care how much the reporters desire it," he says, "there's absolutely no way to give a definitive answer" on any of these questions now. "So, no matter how demanding people might be, it would be a very serious violation of my word of honor if I pretended to know these answers."

That is Carter's answer — whether it will be accepted by the press and public will be determined in the weeks and months ahead.

CARTER: ISSUES

Mr. Carter and the Concorde

Wash. Post 8/30/76

IN DISCUSSING the Concorde during an interview for a French newspaper recently, Gov. Jimmy Carter was quoted as saying, "I do not favor the use of supersonic aircraft under foreign flags to the United States, in so far as Congress and the government rejected the SST which could have been built in the United States." While it may be that the quotation lost something in the translation—Gov. Carter usually doesn't sound quite like that—the general idea seems clear. And it is an idea, in our view, that is wrong.

There may be legitimate grounds on which to deny permanent landing rights to the British and French for this particular airplane—the tests now being conducted will provide the evidence. But the fact that the plane was built abroad is not one of them. Congress, after all, never said the SST could not be built in the United States; it only said that the government would not put up money to help build it. Boeing could have continued the SST project with other money if it—or someone else—had thought that course economically sound.

Mr. Carter went on to explain that he opposed the

SST because of its "enormous consumption of energy per passenger, the enormous cost of the necessary investment and also the risks it contained for the environment, particularly its noise." Only the last of these reasons seems to us relevant to the present debate over landing rights for the Concorde in the United States. The consumption of energy is heavy but it is a drop in the bucket of the world's problem. The investment has already been made by the British and French governments and, once that was done, they were entitled to a fair shot at getting some part of that investment back; unfortunately for them, the report on the Concorde's early months of operation is not very promising. As for the environmental questions raised by the Concorde's flights, we continue to believe that Secretary of Transportation Coleman was right to give the owners of the plane a chance to meet these in actual operation. Whether or not the Concorde is to be a permanent part of aviation over the North Atlantic is a question that ought to be answered on the outcome of that trial period, not on arguments that related to the decision of the U. S. Congress not to finance its American counterpart.

8/29/76

Carter Aide Sees Edge Declining Even Further

The Associated Press

Jimmy Carter's campaign manager says he expects a further decline in his candidate's lead in the polls, but welcomes the narrowing margin between Carter and President Ford as an incentive for harder staff work.

Hamilton Jordan added that the planned debates between Carter and Ford, now under discussion, will probably not be as crucial as many people think, saying "they've already been hyped up."

The easy-going 31-year-old key aide was interviewed in his spacious but bare office in the new Carter-Mondale national headquarters on the top floor of a modern Atlanta office building.

Jordan said he was not surprised by the latest Gallup polls showing Carter with only a 49-39 per cent lead over Ford, compared with a 62-29 per cent margin after the Democratic convention in late July.

"It's not pleasant, but we knew it was going to happen," he said. "Our poll figures after the Democratic convention were artificially high. We were never really in the 60s."

"I think the 10-point spread is probably where things are now. But I don't expect to see it stay at 10 points. I expect it to slide down below that."

The decline in the polls, however, has had a positive effect, Jordan said, "because it will get people working harder."

He said he had cut salaries of all the Carter staffers by 10 per cent the day before the interview to "save a little money and for the psychological effect."

"All of a sudden, we're in the big offices," he said. "They tell us we're going to win the election. We need to get everybody here on edge."

Patrick Caddell, Carter's chief pollster, agreed, saying he was "really glad" to see the drop in the polls.

"It's hard to run a campaign when you try to say to people that 25-point leads are not really going to exist," Caddell said in his little cubicle of an office. "Intellectually, the staff agrees with you and nods their heads. But emotionally, they look at these things and feel very good."

"It's good it happened sooner than later because it makes people realize there's a campaign. It's nothing we didn't expect. I'm not worried about it."

Caddell said his latest polling gives a few more percentage points to Carter than the Gallup poll but added it's "roughly in the same ball park."

He said he thought Ford had reached his peak strength in the polls, at least for right now.

"I think they're bumping their heads on the ceiling at



HAMILTON JORDAN
Doubts Debates Pivotal

the moment," he said. "While they may be able to pick up, they've probably overreached themselves now, just as we overreached ourselves."

But he added he expected the margin between the candidates would stay approximately the same until the debates.

Ford's rise in the polls apparently stemmed from the shift of Reagan Republicans to the President, rather than any decline in Carter support among other groups or sections of the country, Caddell said.

He also said his polling showed that the depth of support for Carter was stronger than that for the President.

"Our vote is much harder than Ford's...significantly harder," Caddell said.

Discussing the debates, Jor-

dan said they would be pivotal only if "Ford destroys Jimmy or Jimmy destroys Ford. But I don't think either of those things will happen."

Jordan said, however, that Carter has more at stake. "The variable in the debates is not Gerald Ford. It's Jimmy Carter," he said. "It's somewhat predictable how Ford will appear. The question is how good or how bad Carter will look in contrast to Ford."

"A lot of people have made a tentative judgment that Carter would be a stronger president, and I think the election will turn on whether that tentative judgment is confirmed or withdrawn. If it's confirmed, Jimmy will win. If it's withdrawn, Ford will win."

Asked how Carter was going to prepare for the debates, Jordan responded with a laugh: "I don't know — maybe drain a pond with the issues staff."

More seriously, he added, "we've not going to hold up the campaign to prepare for the debates. Jimmy is well informed, he thinks on his feet, he uses the English language very precisely. We're not going to take 10 days off to get ready."

Jordan also said he was not bothered by last week's intensive criticism of Carter by Republican vice presidential nominee Sen. Robert Dole, who trailed Carter to the American Legion convention in Seattle and to the Iowa State Fair.

"Robert Dole has had the biggest week of his life," Jordan said with a chuckle. "It possibly was his best week, but I don't think there will be a lot more."



Washington Post June 24

Carter / Race



Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Carter's Positions on Race

Hidden by the new Democratic party harmony, Jimmy Carter bowed to pressure and agreed—without resistance—to a proposal that black political leaders hope will revive the discredited racial quota system for convention delegates.

"Jimmy was mau-maued," is the widely voiced description, using political slang, of what happened last Sunday at Washington's Mayflower Hotel. In plain English, the new leader of the Democratic Party followed the pattern of the past in yielding to black demands rather than risk a black walk-out. The cost, if any, will be paid later.

Whether Carter's acceptance of black terms will result in politically catastrophic quotas at the 1980 convention is a question for the future. What is clear now are these points: Carter will not risk a confrontation that could possibly undermine his strong base with black voters; his centrist image is belied by his left-of-center political aides making important tactical decisions, and the mystery of where Jimmy Carter really stands and who he is remains unsolved.

Uncanny occurrences at the rules committee last Sunday, obscured by widely publicized rejection of a proposed 50-50 quota for women delegates, have had no public discussion and are only faintly appreciated inside the party. The truth is that, in a few hours' time, Carter's agents presided over the liquidation of compromise language painstakingly reached over two years

in Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss' search for party peace.

Rules committee-Carter campaign decisions reversed carefully contrived formulations, as follows: Requirements for "affirmative action" for minority participation in "all party affairs" (not just national convention delegates); extension of the new judicial council's authority over all party disputes (not just the national convention); extension of proportional representation down to the district level in presidential primaries. These proposals, all subject to floor fights at Madison Square Garden, originated in the party's left wing and were rejected during the two-year rule-writing process ending at the Kansas City mid-term convention in December 1974.

But none of this is as symbolically important as what happened on the incendiary question of racial quotas, partially responsible for both the convention chaos and the election debacle in 1972. Strauss' crowning achievement as chairman is that he junked the quota system for 1976 without triggering revolt from the left.

Although many party regulars and labor politicians complained at Kansas City that Strauss gave too much away to black demands, the quota system stayed dead for 1976. Without mandatory quotas, 1976 black delegates as of now are down to around 10 per cent from 1972's 15 per cent—reversing a long-time upward trend.

Accordingly, the black Democratic

caucus determined to abandon the Kansas City formula and attempt a de facto quota system not bearing that invidious label. The resulting ingenious proposal, ironically, was patterned after President Richard M. Nixon's quota system for construction labor. It calls for not merely black "participation" (wording previously insisted on by Strauss) but "representation" and would require state parties to set "specific goals and timetables."

Soft-spoken, urbane mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., black strategist on party rules, played the mailed-fist-in-velvet-glove role as he had in Kansas City. Unless his proposal were adopted, Dick Hatcher said softly, the blacks would walk out.

Ready for a long, hard fight, the blacks were amazed when Carter aid's immediately accepted their proposal down to the last letter, but with this stipulation: Everybody should publicly assert this is not a quota system. In fact, "goals" for black representation set by states would probably become a racial quota just as the 1972 "guidelines" had.

Hard-boiled realists claim President Carter would never permit the formula adopted at the Mayflower to become reality. That still leaves the question of who Carter really is: opponent of racial quotas, appealing to the old Wallace vote; or, George McGovern's political heir, whose liberal agents approve racial quotas? Perhaps a little of both.

Carter/
Women

Carter Forms Panel of Women Advisers

BY MARLENE CIMONS
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—Democratic presidential contender Jimmy Carter, declaring a commitment to equality for women in "every area of government and every aspect of life," announced the formation Sunday of a committee of women to advise him on issues and serve as talent scouts for potential administration appointments.

The group is called the Committee of 51.3%—a reference to the proportion of women in the U.S. population. Carter said the women would advise him on "not only such traditional women's issues as health and education, but in all issues—war and peace, the budget and the economy and other matters of importance to the American people."

He said committee members would also help him find qualified women for high government positions.

"I see no reason why women should comprise only 2% of the nearly 10,000 employees in the top three

Civil Service grades or why only three women have served in a presidential Cabinet in our nation's history," he said.

"I will appoint qualified women early in my administration and in substantial numbers—they will not be in a few token positions at the top of my administration but in jobs of importance throughout the government."

Members of the new committee include Mary E. King, a Carter campaign adviser who is president of the National Assn. of Women Business Owners; Mary Mize Anderson, a former Tennessee state senator; Joan Tobin, a Washington businesswoman; Midge Costanza, vice mayor of Rochester, N.Y.; Odessa Komer, vice president of the United Auto Workers; Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.); Betty Talmadge, a businesswoman and wife of U.S. Sen. Herman E. Talmadge (D-Ga.); Eleanor Holmes Norton, New York City commissioner of human rights; Esther Peterson, consumer adviser to President Lyndon B. Johnson, now consu-

mer adviser to a Washington area food chain; Carol Tucker Foreman, executive director of the Consumer Federation of America, and Anne Cox Chambers, chairman of Atlanta Newspapers, Inc.

In a statement released in Washington and Georgia, Carter said also that, as President, he would:

—Support passage of the Equal Rights Amendment as a top priority of his administration. He called the ERA "not an elitist issue but a very basic matter of social justice."

—Enforce laws prohibiting sex discrimination in hiring, job advancement, education, credit and housing.

—Support legislation to end sex discrimination in health and disability insurance.

—Support an end to sex discrimination in the Social Security system and in income taxes.

—Support child-care legislation, flexible hours and the creation of more part-time jobs and the "displaced homemakers bill," which

would provide services to homemakers who want to enter the job market.

—Oppose any constitutional amendment to overturn the Supreme Court decision on abortion.

Phyllis Schaffl, national chairman of Stop ERA and a supporter of the Republican presidential candidacy of former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, said Sunday she thought Carter's remarks supporting the Equal Rights Amendment were inappropriate.

"It would be outside his jurisdiction as President," she said. "The Constitution gives the amending process to Congress and the state legislatures—the President and governors have no part in this process."

Mrs. Foreman, a member of the new committee, said she was pleased by Carter's statement regarding the "iniquities of the tax and Social Security systems."

"My husband and I both pay into the Social Security system and when we retire we can either draw his or mine—whichever is higher—but not both," she said. "Because women are traditionally paid less than men, i.e., than their husbands, they can say goodby to their Social Security input. Is that fair?"

New York Times July 12

Mr. Carter's Economics

In his well-planned and shrewdly executed campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination, Governor Jimmy Carter has sought to avoid making the two fundamental mistakes on economic issues that hurt Senator George McGovern so badly in his contest with Richard Nixon in 1972.

One mistake Senator McGovern made was in exposing himself to attack, however unfair, as a radical populist—as a foe of business who, it was alleged, would foul up the American economy in his effort to take from the rich (and the middle class) to help the poor. His other basic mistake in the field of economics was to get bogged down in the details (imperfectly mastered and presented) of complex proposals, especially for welfare and tax reform.

Governor Carter has gone out of his way, over and over, to reassure the business community by stressing his respect for the private sector as the best means of solving national problems. For instance, to get rid of unemployment, he has said that “whenever there is a choice between channeling jobs in the private sector or the public, I would favor the private.” This priority for the private sector has won Mr. Carter the reputation of being a “conservative”—or at least, more conservative than the other Democratic candidates whom he defeated in the primaries.

Yet a careful look at the entire Carter position discloses that he is not a conservative in the laissez-faire sense. He would actively employ public means to solve national problems, and his ranking of problems is dramatically different from that of the Ford Administration. He has made it clear that he considers unemployment, rather than inflation, the number one problem

facing the nation. He hastens to add that inflation is the number two problem and, once the unemployment slack had been taken in, he would reinforce anti-inflation measures, if necessary, with an incomes policy to keep wage and price actions more in line with the growth of real output.

There is little doubt that the election campaign has already been an intense learning experience for Mr. Carter. He is setting no interest-rate targets; whatever populist convictions he may once have had about very low interest rates seem to have disappeared into a broader understanding of the relation of interest rates to other economic variables.

Mr. Carter has been extremely cautious about disclosing the specifics of programs to reform the tax system, improve the welfare system, aid the cities, strengthen Social Security, expand public health programs, conserve energy or develop new resources. His caution appears to derive from a desire to avoid exposing himself to the opposition of groups who may think they will be hurt by particular proposals, when these are revealed piecemeal.

Having won the Democratic nomination by avoidance of details and a generally moderate tone, reassuring to widely diverse groups, Mr. Carter will be understandably tempted to pursue the same tactics during the election campaign against his Republican opponent. In our view, this would be a mistake.

Although it is not necessary to spell out every detail of his programs before the election, the country has a right to know with more exactitude than it now does where Mr. Carter stands on the major economic issues, and how he means to solve them.

Abroad, the Question Is Still "Jimmy Who?"

In the rest of the world, as at home, Jimmy Carter is an enigma to many.

In every major capital, puzzlement over what Carter stands for is mixed with concern over the direction in which an untested President would lead the U.S.

Most leaders abroad expect a Carter White House to change only the style, not the content, of American foreign policy. But they are not certain. As the magazine's foreign bureaus report, confidence and trust are tempered by skepticism and doubt.

LONDON

Britons are intrigued by—and a bit apprehensive over—Jimmy Carter.

On one hand, his down-to-earth manner has appeal. On the other, there is anxiety over what is seen here as his glossing over of issues.

To some Britons, he is too glib. To others, he is imperious. Some even suspect he is really an isolationist.

One London expert sums up British reaction this way: "The confusion about assessing Carter comes from the fact that nobody here is quite sure who is advising him. There is danger that a new President as untried as Carter will attempt to assert himself in the first few months of office and commit some blunder."

PARIS

The French are waiting eagerly to learn exactly where Carter stands.

So far, French officials seem assured that a Carter Presidency would bring no abrupt change in American policy toward Europe and Russia. Also, the prospect that more-traditional diplomacy will replace Henry Kissinger's one-man approach is appealing to many.

Major unknowns: whether the U.S. under Carter would recognize Communist China, and what initiatives he would take for a Mideast peace.

BONN

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, himself facing national elections in October, is confident that Carter would back a militarily strong Atlantic Alliance even while seeking greater relaxation of tensions with Russia.

Two big unanswered questions: Would Carter withdraw any of the

200,000 U.S. troops now in Germany? Would his policies maintain the pace of the economic recovery in the U.S. and other industrialized nations?

GENEVA

Swiss experts worry that Carter might retreat in the anti-inflation battle by bringing in costly new social welfare and full-employment programs.

If that happens, they say, inflation in the U.S. could zoom toward double-digit figures. A Zurich banker warns: "That would be bad for America and the whole Western world."

ROME

Many Italians are favorably disposed toward Carter, but are mystified by his policies.

Turin's leading newspaper, *La Stampa*, commenting on what it called his "cold, ruthless ability," said Carter could not have been successful "without possessing such qualities as leadership, intelligence, good instinct and a realistic view of the problems."

MOSCOW

Russia's reaction to Carter's nomination: wariness and suspicion.

The Soviet press, which mirrors Kremlin thinking, has three main concerns:

That Carter yielded too much to "cold war" proponents in drawing up the Democratic Party platform; that he straddles the fence on too many sensitive issues; that in trying to rebuild the ethnic-voter blocs of the Democrats, he might "run against" Soviet control over Eastern European satellite nations.

CANBERRA

Australian officials wonder whether Carter would be as tough as Ford.

This is particularly important now that Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser opposes a Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean. It would be a severe setback for Fraser if the U.S. softened its determination to counter Russian strength in the region.

CAIRO

The Middle East is so preoccupied with its own woes that few leaders

take time to study America's presidential race.

Nevertheless, most Arab nations, particularly Egypt and Saudi Arabia, feel that they fare better with Republicans in the White House.

In Israel, in contrast, officials tend to lean toward Carter. They distrust the Republicans and suspect that a GOP victory in November would work against Israel's interests.

TOKYO

Japanese experts predict that Carter, if elected, would launch bold new moves to reassert America's world leadership. Among them:

A tougher posture toward Russia; renewed demands that Allies bolster military contributions to NATO; increased pressure on Japan to strengthen its defense forces; a trade policy that would include import quotas to protect U.S. industries.

BUENOS AIRES

Jimmy Carter was a nobody on this continent until he began talking about Latin America.

Now newspapers headline his promises of co-operation between the two Americas. Says a leading Argentine economist:

"Carter won't be preoccupied with Russia, China and Europe. He will look at Latin America and Africa."

OTTAWA

For most Canadians, Carter's strongest asset is the impressive way he has grabbed the leadership of his party.

Admiration overrides any uneasiness because of his lack of foreign-affairs experience.

Says one official: "Any guy who can come out of nowhere and take command has an excellent reading of the political system and is clearly attuned to the times."

Washington Post July 28

- Carter / Defense

Carter Cautions on Reliance On 1st-Strike A-Capability

By Helen Dewar

Washington Post Staff Writer

PLAINS, Ga., July 27— Jimmy Carter cautioned today against U. S. reliance on a first-strike nuclear capability and called for a massive overhaul of the nation's military reserves as he continued intensive brainstorming sessions with his policy advisers.

The Democratic presidential nominee's comments on military policy grew out of a meeting Monday with his defense advisers. A press briefing was held for reporters after Monday's session and Carter answered questions on the meeting this morning.

Carter met with nine economic advisers late this afternoon, but a press briefing on the meeting was postponed until Wednesday.

Discussing whether the United States should develop a first-strike nuclear capability against the Soviet Union, Carter said today that while both countries have such a strike force, its use would invite an intolerable retaliatory blow from aircraft and submarines that would survive an attack.

"There is no way to prevent a massive retaliatory

strike because for all practical purposes atomic submarines are invulnerable" and many airborne aircraft would survive, said Carter, a former nuclear submarine officer.

Democratic vice presidential nominee Walter F. Mondale, who is joining Carter in the three days of briefings, agreed, saying the key to the nation's defense policy should be maneuverability of weapons and their delivery systems.

Mondale also cited maneuverability as the reason why he voted to authorize the B-1 bomber program in the Senate. Carter opposes a go-ahead on production of the bomber but favors continuing research on the project. Mondale said today he agrees with that position.

On the question of armed forces reserves, including state National Guard units, Carter said their readiness for combat is "doubtful," their weaponry is "poor" and they are "quite often shot through with politics."

"I don't believe you'll ever have a President who's politically strong enough to run over a governor, or run over 50 governors, and institute

changes unilaterally from Washington," he said. But he emphasized that he and his advisers agreed that a coordinated effort between Washington and the states must be made to improve the quality and the coordination of military reserves.

Asked if this meant "drastic change," Carter responded: "I would guess that is true."

Carter / Taxes

Candidate Backs Multinational Corporations

Carter Assures Business of Caution on Taxes

New York Times News Service

NEW YORK — Jimmy Carter has told a group of leading corporate executives that, if elected president, he would move cautiously on tax reform and would retain the credit on foreign taxes paid by American companies.

Returning to New York for the first time since he won the Democratic presidential nomination last week, Carter also came out strongly in favor of multinational corporations and of the free enterprise system.

In his 18-minute talk at a private lunch at the 21 Club to 52 top business leaders — Democrats, Republicans

and independents — the former Georgia governor spoke as a former businessman, rather than in the populist tones that rang through his acceptance speech at the Democratic convention.

"I'VE NEVER had a goal for government to dominate business," he asserted.

The Democratic nominee inserted his business luncheon between meetings with labor leaders, news publications and a brief conference with Mayor Abraham D. Beame and former Mayor Robert F. Wagner.

When he spoke to the business group, after cocktails and luncheon, Carter emphasized that he planned no rash actions to change the tax structure. "I would not make any substantive change in our tax law, or propose any as president, until at least a full year of very careful analysis," he said.

While he backed the present credit on U.S. taxes given to American corporations that pay foreign taxes, Carter said after the meeting that he opposed tax deferrals on profits of American companies earned overseas until the money is brought into the United

States. "At this point, my inclination would be to eliminate these tax deferrals," he said.

IN RESPONSE TO a question about his attitude toward multinational corporations from W. Michael Blumenthal, chairman of the Bendix Corp. who was special representative for trade negotiations in the Kennedy administration, Carter responded:

"I would continue, and strengthen if possible, American involvement in foreign countries and vice versa," adding, "I would not do anything to minimize this."

Replying to a question about his plans for staffing the government if he should be elected president, Carter said, "I would intend to have a substantially reduced White House staff."

The hosts at the meeting were J. Paul Austin, chairman of the Coca-Cola Co.; Edgar Bronfman, chairman of the Seagram Co., Ltd.; and Henry Ford II, chairman of the Ford Motor Co. The three men, who paid the cost of the lunch, support Carter for president and there were indications that the gathering would lead to the formation of a Businessmen-for-Carter committee.

July 23

Star

Wash Post

Chicago Tribune

July 21

Carter / pardon

Carter says he won't make pardon an issue

By Bill Neikirk

Chicago Tribune Press Service

PLAINS, Ga.—Jimmy Carter said Tuesday he will not personally make Richard Nixon's pardon a campaign issue this fall but he added that his running mate, Sen. Walter Mondale, is free to come out swinging.

"I would not try to dominate Sen. Mondale," Carter said when asked if he would discourage his running mate from using the Nixon pardon in the presidential race.

At the same time, Carter said he expects President Ford will win the Republican presidential nomination over Ronald Reagan. He said he will, for now, plan his campaign strategy on that assumption.

AT A press conference in front of the Plains High School under a hot Georgia midday sun, Carter answered questions for more than half an hour, then went into a campaign strategy session with key advisers, the first since he won the Democratic nomination.

Only a day earlier, Ford defended the Nixon pardon and said he would do it all over again. But Carter said he would not have pardoned Nixon until after a trial and all the facts were known.

He said he accepted Ford's explanation that the pardon was designed to end the agony of Watergate. "I don't intend to criticize him because of it. I don't think there was any secret deal made between President Nixon and President Ford. Obviously they were very close. He felt deeply indebted to President Nixon for choosing him."

MONDALE HAD raised the issue in his acceptance speech in New York but Carter said his position on the pardon is preferable politically.

"The American people know who pardoned Richard Nixon. They know the circumstances. They don't need to have it raised for political advantage."

Carter said Mondale will come to

Plains this weekend for strategy talks. Prior to that, the Carter and Mondale staffs will meet in South Carolina starting Wednesday to make campaign plans.

Carter said the campaign will get under way right after Labor Day. Even though Ford is his likely opponent, he said he would be ready for Reagan, too.

"The inclination of Gov. Reagan to get militarily involved in Panama, in Lebanon, and in Rhodesia will certainly be an issue if he is the nominee," Carter said.

On other issues, Carter:

• Defended Mondale for sponsoring a special tax break for a Minnesota firm, Investors Diversified Services. Carter said Mondale had not done anything improper, had made his action public, and still supported Carter's call for comprehensive tax reform.

• Defended his pollster, Patrick Caddeil, for providing services to the Saudi Arabian government. Carter said Caddeil is not in any policy position and, furthermore, should not be denied money from customers other than the Carter campaign.

• Said he would be dealing with the so-called "Catholic problem" as the campaign progresses. "I really think my strength among American Catholics is substantial," he said.

• Said he would be sending a new farm bill to Congress if he is elected. It would encourage maximum production, and adequate and aggressive overseas sales. "I don't favor high price supports," he said.

Carter will spend most of his time in Plains in the next several days, but he does plan to go to New York on Thursday for a meeting with businessmen who support his candidacy.

He said that next Wednesday he will get an in-depth briefing from the Central Intelligence Agency "on matters of security importance."

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

A Carter Challenge To Ford's Foreign View

Jimmy Carter's new speech ensures that, if President Ford is nominated, the presidential campaign will be the setting for a debate between two serious and distinguishable conceptions of America's role in the world.

If Ronald Reagan is nominated, we will have no similar debate. For Reagan has no conception of America's role in the world. He seems to have only nostalgia for the period when we could impose our will on others without evident cost.

Carter, though, by whatever combination of deliberation and advice with which he proceeds in these matters, has come up with a statement which is at least as good a guide to his general approach as was Richard Nixon's Foreign Affairs article of 1967. He should tell us more about sub-issues. But he is now moving better to meet a serious candidate's responsibility to present his basic views.

Against the Nixon-Ford-Kissinger policy aimed at a Soviet and American-built "structure of peace," Carter offers an American-led "partnership" among the world's democracies, especially those in Western Europe and Japan.

It is not a radically new or surprising policy but it does represent enough of a refitting of familiar elements to qualify as a viable alternative to the administration's approach in the last eight years. That the administration itself has—in frustration or insight—anticipated Carter in various respects in the last year or so does not detract from what he's now done.

There are several big differences:

First, the Carter approach is explicitly grounded in American moral values; the Ford-Kissinger approach, less explicitly, or only implicitly. Whether this would make a difference in the final policy result remains to be demonstrated. John Kennedy, after all, carried his explicit pursuit of freedom to Cuba, Berlin and Vietnam. Would a President Carter, who is very strong on Japan, squeeze South Korea on human rights so hard that Japan's balance, which is closely tied to the American position in Korea, would be tipped?

In any event, only part of American foreign policy has to do with the policy result abroad. The other part is domestic: Many people want the policy, whatever its effect, to reflect their values. Foreign policy is not only diplomacy, it's therapy. Carter recognizes this. He may even believe it. After Nixon and Kissinger, enough people want an explicitly moral foreign policy to make it worth a politician's while to offer it to them.

Second, Carter flatly rejects the Ford-Kissinger premise that the first requirement of American policy is to cope with Soviet power. Instead, he would tighten links with the democracies in order to deal not just with the

traditional military, political and economic issues but with issues of third-world stability and development and of lifestyle. The various negotiations with the Russians would flow from, not to, this enhanced alliance of the democracies.

Perhaps the prevailing frustration with detente would have turned any new administration, even a Republican one, in this direction—as a political gesture if not also as a negotiating gambit. Undeniably, a good number of Americans identify a focus on the Soviet-American relationship as a hangover from the cold war. Many Americans are reluctant to be told that the Russians may make it tough for us.

In this new speech—though not in some past pronouncements—Carter is at pains to convey the impression that we can have our cake and eat it too: that we can keep closer company with the democracies and avoid showdowns with the Russians. What remains for him to do is to demonstrate just how our allies—who are in many ways weak countries without the means of much self-reliance—can render extra help.

Furthermore, I think Carter exaggerates the slack, in our relations with allies, that is available to be taken up. I assume that's why he has to go back fully five years, to the "Nixon shocks" and John Connally, to fault administration policy toward allies.

Finally, Carter would approach third-world poverty with the premise that rich country-poor country tensions are "often based on legitimate economic grievances." Granting the legitimacy of such grievances is the necessary precondition to any sustained effort to ease them. This has been done only hesitantly and incompletely by the current administration.

This seems to me potentially the largest difference of substance that Carter offers. The various measures he would support in this area of policy add up to what he calls "a more stable and more just world order." One notes, by the way, that the United Nations is not mentioned here or, for that matter, elsewhere in the speech. Evidently Carter would follow the underlying Ford policy of trying to steer third-world business into more businesslike forums.

For the moment, I would add only one thing. In regard to foreign policy, Ford is running on his (and Kissinger's) record; it's out there for everyone to see. Carter is necessarily running on his speeches—and on his vibes. The speeches can be scanned minutely for themes and nuances. But they're not only statements of his ideas. They're campaign documents and, beyond that, they're arenas in which his various advisers and staffers are vying for influence and future power. So read them with care.

✓ Carter Farm supply

In the Midwest

By Richard Orr
Rural Affairs Editor



Carter offering farmers a break

JIMMY CARTER, who expects to become the Democratic nominee for President at his party's convention in New York this week, has made no major policy statement on agriculture. But the strategy for winning the rural vote for the Georgia peanut farmer and former governor is becoming clear.

The candidate's speeches and comments of his advisers indicate that Carter's campaign for rural votes can be summarized in these six points:

- Raise federal price guarantees for major farm crops to cost-of-production levels.
- Establish a "reasonably small" grain reserve, at least half of which would be held and controlled by farmers.
- Expand farm export markets.
- Attack the Ford administration for its grain export embargoes of 1973 and 1974 (which followed a Nixon administration embargo in 1973).
- Attack Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz and his department as "unpredictable and unresponsive" to farmers and partial to consumers.
- Promote Carter as the first genuine farmer to seek the White House since Thomas Jefferson.

As might be expected, only in the matter of expanded exports will any of these points find agreement in the camps of President Ford and his Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan. The Ford and Reagan farm policies, incidentally, are virtually indistinguishable.

Both Republican candidates favor a "market-oriented" agriculture with a minimum of government interference in pricing and production. Both favor expanded farm export markets, as does Carter.

Early in his campaign Reagan got off to a somewhat shaky start on agricultural matters with remarks interpreted by some farm leaders to indicate he might favor restricting grain sales to the Soviet Union. An American Farm Bureau Federation official notified Reagan that his organization considered restrictions on exports to any nation harmful to agriculture, and the candidate thereafter refrained from making any more such statements.

CARTER'S CRITICISM of the Ford administration's embargoes on grain exports to the Soviets and to Poland will fall on a lot of sympathetic ears among Midwest farmers. Ford has attempted to mollify the discontent among farmers on this issue by repeated statements that chances of more embargoes in the next year or two are "virtually nil."

However, many grain farmers are still sore about it, particularly those in the Great Plains wheat areas.

"The administration asked farmers to plant fence to fence, and after they did that their export markets were shut off for a time, which cost them money and caused them to lose confidence in Washington," said Robert J. "Pud" Williams, Illinois director of agriculture.

Williams, named last week to coordinate Carter's rural campaign in 12 Midwest states, said the embargoes will be a major issue.

Carter's call for crop price supports at cost-of-production levels also may gain favor among a lot of farmers, particularly in the South and Great Plains, and especially among members of the National Farmers Union and National Farmers Organization.

IT WILL LIKELY be less appealing among Midwest grain farmers, although many Midwest dairy farmers seem to like the idea. A majority of Midwest farmers seem to agree with Butz and the American Farm Bureau Federation [the biggest farm group] that high price guarantees would stimulate a return to surplus production and government paternalism.

This attitude was reflected in a recent Prairie Farmer magazine opinion poll. Farmers were asked how they feel about the government getting out of the grain business in the last three years, including the elimination of government-owned grain stocks and acreage controls.

Responses indicated that 74.9 per cent of Illinois farmers and 78.8 per cent of Indiana farmers think a "free" marketing system works best.

The Carter campaign effort to nail Butz on charges of being "unpredictable and unresponsive" to farmers and partial to consumers is related partly to the export embargoes and to the secretary's opposition to high price supports. Butz was opposed to the embargoes but was overruled by other administration advisers, including Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and former Secretary of Labor John Dunlop.

BUTZ CAN POINT to the fact he has been under attack by most consumer groups, which contend he favors farmers over their interests.

AMTops Chicago Tribune
July 12

Effect of Carter win on your pocketbook

By Harry B. Ells
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

"I see clearly," said the presidential candidate, "the value of a strong system of free enterprise" and the "minimal intrusion of government in our free economic system."

Is this a Republican speaking? No, it is

Jimmy Carter, in his speech accepting the Democratic presidential nomination.

How does this square with the Democratic Party platform calling for a "framework of national economic planning" and committed to — among other things — a reduction of "adult unemployment to 3 percent within 4 years"?

"Forget the platform," said a senior Democratic economist crisply, "except as it provides the general atmosphere within which [Mr. Carter] must work."

Specific economic goals, he suggested, will develop as the campaign progresses and as a Carter economic task force, now being assembled under the leadership of Lawrence R. Klein, swings into action.

Dr. Klein, president-elect of the American Economic Association and chairman of the Wharton Econometric Forecasting Association, "is a very pragmatic economist," noted a task-force member. He is committed — as is Mr. Carter — "to most [new] jobs ending up in the private sector."

★Please turn to Page 6

★Effect of Carter win on your pocketbook

Continued from Page 1

"For a long period of time," said another task-force member, "Carter has been getting his economic guidance from Klein."

Thus, said the task-force member, "I expect (Mr. Carter) will put more stress on solving unemployment than the Ford administration, but also will recognize the problem of inflation."

This assessment, buttressed by talks with other Carter task-force members, appears to put the Democratic nominee at variance with Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D) of Minnesota and Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D) of California, authors of the pending Humphrey-Hawkins Bill.

This bill, now undergoing amendments in both houses of Congress, is the inspiration and centerpiece of the economic section of the Democratic Party platform.

Some liberal economists — not to mention Ford administration critics — believe Humphrey campaigns against the Republicans this fall.

Mr. Carter, said a task force member, certainly wants an unemployment goal — "about 4.5 percent of the labor force," compared to today's 7.5 percent jobless rate.

But, said the adviser, that goal "would be achieved with no major public employment programs," if Mr. Carter has his way.

"Competition," said Mr. Carter in his acceptance speech, "is preferable to regulation."

Task-force members foresee Mr. Carter endorsing only "step-by-step," cautious government intervention in the economy, as need dictates.

Dr. Klein's task force includes at least one business-oriented economist, Albert Sommers of the Conference Board, Inc., and noted liberals, including Charles L. Schultz, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and director of the U.S. Budget Bureau under President Johnson. (Dr. Schultz's trenchant critique of Humphrey-Hawkins was a major cause of its present revision.)

Others serving on the task force include Nancy Teeters, chief economist of the House Budget Committee, and Arnold Packer, who holds the equivalent job on the Senate Budget Committee.

Moving to Carter headquarters at Atlanta, Georgia, to coordinate economic "input" is Jerry J. Jasinowski, now a key staffer on the Joint Economic Committee.

Humphrey-Hawkins, with its emphasis on public jobs programs at high wages, might be dangerously inflationary.

With influential Democrats in both houses trying to write a less inflationary bill, Humphrey-Hawkins, said a key congressional staffer, "has less than a 50-50 chance of reaching the Senate floor this session."

Thus, Mr. Carter may not be saddled with a new law setting rigid unemployment goals, as

Carter/Taxes

Your Money's Worth

Carter Would Try to Reform Tax System

By Sylvia Porter

Special to The Washington Star

If Democratic nominee Jimmy Carter were to become U. S. President Carter, what would it mean to you, a taxpayer in any income tax bracket in our country?

A: An all-out effort to overhaul, reform and simplify the entire U.S. tax system with four prime goals: (1) All income would be treated the same; (2) The tax rate would be made much more "progressive," meaning it would hit the higher tax brackets the hardest and the lower tax brackets the softest; (3) No

income would be taxed more than once; (4) Hundreds of tax incentives that have been added "temporarily" to the system in past decades would be wiped out.

BUT CARTER HAS no illusions on how quickly he could put through this "complete tax reform." He frankly confesses: "I don't know how to be specific yet . . . I am just not qualified yet." He even talks of postponing a "tax reform package" for two years or more after he has entered the White House.

What Carter already has

Fourth in a Series

said and done, though, permits this outline for you and me. To you, as a:

• Homeowner counting on your mortgage interest as a tax deduction. Along with other tax incentives, Carter would like to eliminate the income tax deduction for home mortgage payments because he says the deductions are more beneficial to high income than to low-middle income homeowners. He would substitute other homeowner incentives more favorable to lower-income groups: For

instance, he would use mortgage guarantees to assist you as a homeowner when mortgage interest rates rose above a specified level and would have the government pay the difference between the free market level and the fixed lower interest rate level.

- **RECIPIENT OF** capital gains. Your capital gains would be taxed as other income — wages, salaries, etc. — is taxed. Capital gains no longer would be given favorable treatment as in today's law.
- Earner of corporate dividends. Repeatedly, Carter

has said he favors taxation of corporate income only once — in contrast to today, when corporate income is taxed when earned and then the dividends paid to stockholders out of that taxed corporate income are taxed in turn.

"I would tax that income at the corporate income point or dividends — I would like to keep that option open," says Carter. "I don't favor taxing the same income twice."

• A higher-salaried worker paying Social Security taxes. Carter is adamant on maintaining the soundness of our Social Security sys-

tem. He would attack the system's financial problems by taxing your income at a higher level. Today, SS taxes are levied on only the first \$15,300 of your income; he would tax the first \$20,000-\$22,000. Broadening the taxable income base this way, he says, would "make sure that Social Security has enough money going into the reserve fund to meet obligations."

AS TO Social Security's long-range problems, the Democratic nominee believes the solutions lie in a reduction in the inflation

See PORTER, A-11
Continued From A-10

rate and the unemployment rate to below 4 per cent — both developments that would rebuild the Social Security reserve.

• Chief executive of a corporation operating in other nations as well as the U.S. Carter would remove the incentives that encourage U.S. multinational corporations to manufacture products in foreign countries when "their own employees in this country are out of work." In brief, he wants to discourage corporations from locating plants abroad while U. S. workers are going jobless at home.

The Georgian has spoken in grandiose terms about our national tax system as a "disgrace," has pledged a tax reform program that would reduce the tax rate by 40 to 50 percent and shift the tax load to a much greater extent to Americans who earn high incomes.

He frequently refers to Joseph Pechman — an internationally respected authority on federal taxes, recognized liberal on tax

reform and a member of the Brookings Institution — as a tax adviser.

HE ALSO frequently refers to his accomplishments in reforming Georgia's "inadequate" tax system and declares that what he has done in his home state can also be achieved with federal tax laws.

How far he would get with his explosive, controversial tax reform ideas is now and must long remain a big question mark. But he is on the record. In this area as well as in others, the Democratic nominee is by no means as fuzzy as you may have thought

Sunday: Carter and the consumer.

Washington Star July 15

NY Times July 7

Carter Foreign Policy

Carter's Foreign Policies In Liberal Democratic Vein

By LESLIE H. GELB
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 6—Jimmy Carter says that he expects foreign policy to be a major issue in the Presidential campaign, and he seems ready to run with a program that decidedly places him in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

His program includes making public the budget of the Central Intelligence Agency, not trying to cover up divergent viewpoints in his administration, nonintervention in the internal

Excerpts from the interview with Carter, page 12.

struggles of the developing world, minimizing Soviet-American competition and focusing on economic issues and human values, and rejecting the current practice of building new nuclear weapons to bring about agreements on arms control.

Mr. Carter's views were elicited in a recent interview with The New York Times and separate interviews with his aides and advisers, and by reviewing his public statements.

Some of the main points about foreign policy made by Mr. Carter in the interview were these:

¶Contrary to the strategic doctrine of the Ford Administration, Mr. Carter does not believe in the real possibility of limited nuclear war. He said it was his belief that once nuclear weapons were used, all-out nuclear war was likely.

¶Again differing from the Ford Administration's practice, he said he would use economic leverage to deter potential Soviet intervention in the third world. "I would not single out food as a singular product," he added. "It would be a total withholding of trade."

¶Whereas the Administration has made general statements about its commitment to the survival and security of Israel, Mr. Carter said he would continue economic and military aid indefinitely, although he would make "an annual judgment on the amount of aid that was absolutely necessary."

¶He opened the door to negotiations with the developing nations on debt rescheduling and a common fund to stabilize export earnings, thus going beyond the Administration's position.

In the interview Mr. Carter,

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

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speaking slowly and deliberately, explained how he would propose to attain his goals in foreign policy.

He said he would constantly consult with Congress on the formulation of policy, but would also "make every reasonable attempt to preserve the prerogatives and authority of the President." He opposed efforts by Congress—such as the Jackson amendment, tying a grant of equal trading status for the Soviet Union to Jewish emigration from that country—to legislate foreign policy.

Mr. Carter said he would be the nation's "spokesman" but not his own secretary of state. While coordination "would be my responsibility, I would like to let the Cabinet officers run their own departments," he added.

He seemed to assume throughout the interview, as did his aides and some of his advisers, that he could make merit of diverse views work together through "my normal, careful, methodical, scientific or planning approach to longer-range policies."

Sensitive on the Subject

Like Harry S. Truman, Mr. Carter would approach the White House with little background in foreign policy. He and his aides, somewhat sensitive on this subject, are aware that he will have to prove himself in this area.

The aides acknowledged that Mr. Carter's decision to formulate a liberal foreign-policy platform was made in the wake of the 1972 Democratic convention. It was there, they said, that he came to believe that the liberal wing of the party was dominant and would continue to be so, and was deeply committed to a change in foreign policy.

Knowing few foreign-policy experts and scorned by some he sought to contact, Mr. Carter began his education with foreign travel and talks with foreign leaders and by enlisting the services of former Secretary of State Dean Rusk. After a year or so of seminars and conversations arranged by Mr. Rusk, the Carter camp learned that he was considered anathema by some liberal Democrats, and the contacts ceased.

Expedient Action Denied

Many pro- and anti-Carter people who have known the candidate over the years insisted that his new stance was not a matter of expediency but of conviction. To back this up his aides and advisers cited a

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cont from:

NY Times

July 7

Carter's Foreign Policies Follow Liberal Democratic

speech he gave in Tokyo over a year ago, long before he gathered specific knowledge of where the liberals stood and before he acquired a few advisers. That speech contains every recurrent foreign-policy theme: concentration on consultations with such allies as Japan and the Western European countries, not on Soviet-American byplay; no military intervention in the internal affairs of others; openness in policy-making; promotion of human rights and humanitarian concerns.

Shift of Policy Focus

"It is likely in the near future that issues of war and peace will be more a function of economic and social problems than of the military-security problems which have dominated international relations in the world since World War II," he said.

"We can now turn our attention more effectively toward matters like the world economy, freedom of the seas, environmental quality, food, population, peace, conservation of irreplaceable commodities and the reduction of world armaments."

A Unifying Theme

What Mr. Carter's new advisers provided him, beginning early this year, was a unifying theme: "We must replace balance-of-power politics with world-order politics."

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, among others, would consider this approach naive and unworkable. To them the dominant factor in world politics remains the Soviet-American equation. Unless the Soviet threat is managed and the balance of power maintained, in their view, all else will fail.

Mr. Carter's position on dealing with the Russians is complex as well as untried.

He has not proposed absolute reductions in defense spending. His call for a 5 to 7 percent cut in the Pentagon's proposed \$115 billion budget, according to his aides, would still allow a modest increase in military outlays over last year. Moreover, he made it clear in the interview that he would give advance warning to Moscow of economic sanctions in the event of another situation like that in Angola, where the Communists backed the winner.

Although Mr. Carter, in the interview, rejected the basic Nixon-Ford-Kissinger strategy on the strategic nuclear balance of power, he said—here he concurs with Mr. Kissinger

—that he believed that the "rough equivalency is a very good posture to maintain." The similarity seems to end there, however.

'Overwhelming Capability'

Asked about possible Soviet advantages in certain strategic areas, he answered, "I think that the overwhelming capability of both nations to wreak havoc on the other nation is such an overwhelming consideration compared to whether or not one nation has a slight advantage in a subjective analysis, to me removes that as a major consideration."

From this premise Mr. Carter argued against the possibility of a limited nuclear war and the "bargaining chips" approach to nuclear negotiations—both central tenets of the Administration. These considerations have provided the main justification for building new systems of nuclear weapons.

Asked about the wisdom of spending \$6 billion on antiballistic-missile defense to induce the Russians not to build such missiles, he responded, "Anyone who thinks that the ABM construction effort was well-advised—looking at it in retrospect—to me is foolish."

On the use of force generally he laid out positive and negative injunctions. "If the altercation was internal, a struggle for the control of the government, I can't envision any circumstance under which I would send troops," he said, but he would use force where "national security interests were directly endangered," to evacuate American citizens, or if the Russians invaded a country like Costa Rica.

On the Middle East, his previously outlined approach has been to give Israel complete confidence in its relations with the United States as the way to bring about Israeli territorial concessions and an over-all peace settlement.

Condemned Aid to Israel

To this he added two points: that even in the absence of a peace settlement "I would continue the economic and military aid to Israel indefinitely," and that he might consider using American forces to help guarantee a territorial settlement but would prefer not to.

On relations with developing nations, he went further in the interview than before, saying that he did not consider the demands of the poor nations unreasonable.

The candidate also detailed what he meant by openness: making his final decisions public, "involvement of the Con-

gressional leaders and the public" even during crises, full disclosure of "the Lockheed involvement in the bribery or other illegal influence on foreign officials."

He said he would make major alternatives available on the Pentagon budget and weapons systems, and "if there was a difference of opinion between the Secretary of Defense or the Joint Chiefs of Staff about the level of funding, I would have no objection to those officials presenting the alternatives to the Congress."

Mr. Carter gave his usual list of advisers, including former top Democratic administration officials like Cyrus S. Vance, George W. Ball and Paul C. Warnke. He added that he would guess that he had spent

more time with either Henry Owen of the Brookings Institution, Prof. Richard N. Gardner of Columbia University or Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski, also of Columbia, than with any of the others individually.

Speaking of the American people, he said that foreign policy was not "a mysterious circumstance removed from their daily existence."

"They look upon it as a practical approach to the difficult questions that are decided most often on an individual basis," he said, "and I think they consider that someone who is capable of managing the affairs of a state or a federal government on a domestic plane is very likely to be qualified to deal with foreign affairs as well."



Officers run their own appointments.

Q. How do you feel about your Presidential appointments expressing their own views about foreign policy if they differed from your own, say in testimony before Congress?

A. Well now, I certainly would be willing to accept some differences of a viewpoint. If the difference was so great that it would allow us disharmony or consternation or lack of purpose within the department itself, that would be damaging to the nation's strength. And I would not permit that.

But I hope that my normal, careful, methodical, scientific or planning approach to longer-range policies involved would serve to remove those disharmonies long before they reach the stage of actual implementation. And this is the way I have been able to perform as Governor and I think it would be an unlikely prospect that at the time of implementation or presentation of a budget to the Congress or in state of crisis because a mistake had been made, that myself and the major Cabinet members would have that much of a disagreement.

My own method of conducting the affairs of state, of the state of Georgia, as Governor, has been to have as broad a range of opinions as possible presented to me, let me assimilate the information that I don't have through my own experience, and then make a judgment for my own posture as I thought it was best. And I would like to keep this procedure as a normal method for conducting the affairs of the White House.

I don't like to get tied down or dependent upon a particular point of view from a single individual.

Q. Do you know if foreign policy is going to be an issue in the campaign, whether it is Governor Reagan or President Ford?

A. Yes, either one.
Q. Why do you think so? And will it be a major issue in the campaign?

A. I would guess that it would. It is almost inevitable that this be the case. When a campaign is run against an incumbent President, for instance, on foreign affairs and the conduct of foreign affairs, it is obviously a matter that is of intense interest to our nation.

Using Foreign Policy

Q. Do you think President Ford would use the powers of his office to do things in foreign policy for his own political advantage?

A. Yes, I think so. Almost any incumbent President would do that, and things that he would do would naturally be inclined toward what is best for this country,

as judged by the American voters.

Q. Do you think that the White House perceives foreign policy as your weak suit politically?

A. The White House possibly does. Our comprehensive polling that we have done continuously all year does not reveal that as a concern among the American people. When the specific question has been asked on a nationwide basis, our poll results indicate that the people think I have enough common sense and enough eloquence to represent this country well in discussions of international affairs, and I think most people don't look on our foreign policy as a mysterious circumstance removed from their daily existence.

They look upon it as a practical approach to the difficult questions that are decided most often on an individual basis, and I think they consider that someone who is capable of managing the affairs of a state or a federal government on a domestic plane is very likely to be qualified to deal with foreign affairs as well.

Q. You have criticized various aspects of détente, particularly the wheat deal with the Soviet Union. What about the SALT I agreement, the agreement we reached in 1972, interim limitation of offensive missiles. Do you think that was a good agreement for the United States?

A. Yes, I do. I think any time we have had an agreement that limited atomic weapons in a practical way has been a good one and I think at that time we were much superior to the Soviet Union in nuclear capability and armament limitations as expressed then have proved to be advisable.

The Impact of SALT

Q. The SALT I agreement was criticized by a number of people on the ground that it provided for superiority in the number of launchers for the Soviet Union. Does that make any difference to you—whether the Russians had more missile launchers than we do? Do you think that is a factor of any strategic significance or diplomatic significance?

A. Well, it is one factor. But I think that we now have a rough equivalency in overall nuclear strength. The Soviets have some advantages in land-based rocket sites. We have an advantage, still, in submarines. We have the technical advantage of more accuracy. They have the advantage of heavier warheads.

We have more warheads because of the MIRV capability. Russia is rapidly acquiring it. I don't think it would be possible from this point, certainly not for me, to say that we or the Russians have a decided advantage over the other.

And I think this rough equivalency is a very good posture to maintain. The inability of either nation to defend itself against a first strike is probably the greatest deterrent to nuclear war and so I don't feel concerned about it.

Q. So we don't need overall numerical equality or equality in numbers of missiles or equality in throw-weight?

A. I don't believe so. I don't believe any one of those factors would be a prime requisite for an agreement.

So you know I would like to, if possible, to reach an

total nuclear capability and the judgment about the advantage of accuracy and flexibility, security of the launching sites, like on submarines compared to overall number of launches and throw-weight—these are subjective assessments, and I think that the overwhelming capability of both nations to wreck havoc on the other nation is such a overwhelming consideration compared to whether or not one nation has a slight advantage in a subjective analysis, to me removes that as a major consideration.

Outlook for Nuclear War

Q. So you don't believe that there is a real possibility of a limited nuclear war? Once you start using these weapons, you are likely to get into an all-out war?

A. That is my belief.

Q. A question about negotiating strategy: You are probably aware that over the years there has been a lot of criticism of the Administration on the grounds that it has used bargaining chips in dealing with strategic arms. You mentioned the ABM treaty. We spent over \$6-billion developing ABM, supposedly with a view toward using the development as a way of getting the Soviets to limit ABM's. Do you think that is an effective and sensible way to bargain on strategic arms—to build in order to put ceilings or to reduce, but build first?

A. Well, anyone who thinks that the ABM construction effort was well advised—looking at it in retrospect—to me is foolish. So my answer is no, I don't think that is an advisable procedure. There may be times when it would be adopted, but as a general principle, I think it is a foolish approach.

Q. In the case of the Soviet Union doing things like intervening in Angola, would you favor using our economic leverage and urging our allies to use their economic leverage to try to get the Russians to cease and desist?

A. Yes, I would.

Q. Would that include the cancellation of grain sales?

A. Well, obviously the earlier that you can have a leverage applying, the better your chances are of success. If you wait until a commitment by Russia is already confirmed, it makes it very difficult if not impossible for them to withdraw that commitment because of any detectable pressure from us. So I think the real myth of the relationship that we have had with individual nations under the Ford-Kissinger Administration has put us in the posture quite often of having to face an accomplished fact of an adjustment of our interests.

The singling out of food as a bargaining weapon is something that I would not do. If we want to put economic pressure on another nation under any circumstances, to use it as a lever by withholding our products, I would not single out food as a singular product. It would be a total withholding of trade.

Before Positions Are Firm

Q. Then you would put them on notice in advance?

A. Yes, I would. I think that—and before the guns—above the confrontation where firm positions are established is well known by the rest of the world and there has to be a loss of face or a breaking of a prior commitment in order to accommodate a peaceful relationship. Once you wait until the

tion on the Jackson Amendment that effect tied most-favored-nation treatment for the Soviet Union to emigration, Jewish emigration in particular, and the Stevenson amendment that limited export credits to the Soviet Union?

A. I think the Jackson Amendment and the Stevenson Amendment were mistaken. If the ultimate goal was to continue to amend the rate of out-migration of Jews from Russia, here was an instance where I think the Soviet Union would have been much more amenable to quiet but firm diplomatic negotiation than the highly publicized pressure placed on the Soviet Union by an act of Congress.

Q. Can you conceive of a situation in the third world—Latin America, Asia and Africa—where you would send American combat forces?

A. Well, obviously, that is such a broad-ranging question—obviously, if the Soviets had troops in Costa Rica, I would do the best I could to defend that country or in Panama or—

Q. But in an internal war, a war between regional powers in Africa or Latin America, one that did not involve the active participation of the Soviet Union, there were no Soviet troops involved or Chinese troops involved—

A. If the altercation was internal, a struggle for control of the Government, I can't envision any circumstances under which I would send troops. If there was a war begun between countries and I felt that our own national security interests were directly endangered, I would certainly consider sending troops.

Conditions for Intervention

Q. You mean national security interests beyond the safety of American civilization?

A. That is right. There may be circumstances that would—I hesitate to answer a hypothetical question on things like this, because you put me in the posture of thinking of every possible eventuality. There may be times when I would send military planes into a national capital to evacuate American nationals whose lives were endangered or send a ship into a port to perform an evacuation process, so there are some circumstances in which I would certainly use our military forces.

Q. What about a U.S. guarantee of Israeli security in the context of an overall settlement—would you favor that?

A. I have discussed this with a lot of the—with several of the Israeli leaders, with the present and the previous Prime Ministers, the Foreign Minister and others. I have never yet had an Israeli leader respond to my direct question that they would favor using American troops under any conceivable circumstance. If there was a mutual agreement between Israel and all her neighbors and the only basis on which they could declare nonbelligerency and recognize the existence of Israel permanently and resolve the Palestinian question and leave Israel in a defensible posture and carve out a permanent peace through the temporary presence of American forces in certain areas within the territory, I might consider it.

But I would prefer that these forces be United Na-

cont from

44 Times

July 7

Carter's Foreign Policy Talk and Replies to Queries

Condemn
Foreign Policy

Following are excerpts from the prepared text of Jimmy Carter's speech here yesterday before the Foreign Policy Association, and from a question-and-answer period that followed. The questions and answers were recorded by The New York Times through the facilities of ABC News.

The time has come for us to seek a partnership between North America, Western Europe and Japan: Our three regions share economic, political and security concerns that make it logical that we should seek ever-increasing unity and understanding.

I have traveled in Japan and Western Europe in recent years and talked to leaders there. These countries already have a significant world impact, and they are prepared to play even larger global roles in shaping a new international order.

In addition to cooperation between North America, Japan and Western Europe, there is an equal need for increased unity and consultation between ourselves and such democratic societies as Israel, Australia, New Zealand and other nations, such as those in this hemisphere, that share our democratic values, as well as many of our political and economic concerns.

Ending One-Man Diplomacy

There must be more frequent consultations on many levels. We should have periodic summit conferences and occasional meetings of the leaders of all the industrial democracies, as well as frequent Cabinet-level meetings. In addition, as we do away with one-man diplomacy, we must once again use our entire foreign policy apparatus to re-establish continuing contacts at all levels. Summits are no substitute for the habit of cooperating closely at the working level.

There are at least three areas in which the democratic nations can benefit from closer and more creative relations.

First, there are our economic and political affairs.

In the realm of economics, our basic purpose must be to keep open the international system in which the exchange of goods, capital, and ideas among nations can continue to expand.

Increased coordination among the industrialized democracies can help avoid the repetition of such episodes as the inflation of 1972-73 and the more recent recessions. Both were made more severe by an excess of expansionist zeal and then of deflationary reaction in North America, Japan and Europe.

Though each country must make its own economic decisions, we need to know more about one another's interests and intentions. We must avoid unilateral acts, and we must try not to work at cross-purposes in the pursuit of the same ends. We need not agree on all matters, but we should agree to discuss all matters.

We should continue our efforts to reduce trade barriers among the industrial countries, as one way to combat inflation. The current Tokyo round of multilateral trade negotiations should be pursued to a successful conclusion.

Monetary Renovation

But we must do more. The international monetary system should be renovated so that it can serve us well for the next quarter of a century. Last January, at a meeting of the leading financial officials agreement was reached on a new system, based on greater flexibility of exchange rates. There is no prospect of any early return to fixed exchange rates—divergences in economic experience among nations are too great for that. But we still have much much to learn regarding the effective operation of a system of fluctuating exchange rates. We must take steps to avoid large and erratic fluctuations, without impeding the basic monetary adjustments that will be necessary among nations for some years to come. It will be useful to strengthen the role of the International Monetary Fund as a center for observation and guidance of the world economy, keeping track of the interactions among national economies and making recommendations to governments on how best to keep the world economy functioning smoothly.

Beyond economic and political cooperation, we have much to learn from one another. I have been repeatedly impressed by the achievements of the Japanese and the Europeans in their domestic affairs. The Japanese, for example, have one of the lowest unemployment rates and the lowest crime rate of any industrialized nation, and they also seem to suffer less than other urbanized peoples from the modern problem of rootlessness and alienation.

Similarly, we can learn from the European nations about health care, urban planning and mass transportation.

There are many ways that creative alliances can work for a better world. Let me mention just one more, the area of human rights. Many of us have protested the violation of human rights in Russia, and justly so. But

such violations are not limited to any one country or one ideology. There are other countries that violate human rights in one way or another—by torture, by political persecution and by racial or religious discrimination.

We and our allies, in a creative partnership, can take the lead in establishing and promoting basic global standards of human rights. We respect the independence of all nations, but by our example, by our utterances and by the various forms of economic and political persuasion available to us, we can quite surely lessen the injustice in this world.

We must certainly try.

Let me make one other point in the political realm. Democratic processes may in some countries bring to power parties or leaders whose ideologies are not shared by most Americans.

We may not welcome these changes. We will certainly not encourage them. But we must respect the results of democratic elections and the right of countries to make their own free choice if we are to remain faithful to our own basic ideals. We must learn to live with diversity, and we can continue to cooperate, so long as such political parties respect the democratic process, uphold existing international commitments and are not subservient to external political direction. The democratic concert of nations should exclude only those who exclude themselves by the rejection of democracy itself.

On Mutual Security

The second area of increased cooperation among the democracies is that of mutual security. Here, however, we must recognize that the Atlantic and Pacific regions have quite different needs and different political sensitivities.

Since the United States is both an Atlantic and a Pacific power, our commitments to the security of Western Europe and of Japan are inseparable from our own security. Without these commitments and our firm dedication to them, the political fabric of Atlantic and Pacific cooperation would be seriously weakened and world peace endangered.

As we look to the Pacific region, we see a number of changes and opportunities. Because of potential Sino-Soviet conflict, Russian and Chinese forces are not jointly deployed as our potential adversaries but confront one another along their common border. Moreover, our withdrawal from the mainland of Southeast Asia has made possible improving relationships between us and the People's Republic of China.

With regard to our primary Pacific ally, Japan, we will maintain our existing security arrangements, so long as that continues to be the wish of the Japanese people and Government.

Korean Withdrawal

I believe it will be possible to withdraw our ground forces from South Korea on a phased basis over a time span to be determined after consultation with both South Korea and Japan. At the same time, it should be made clear to the South Korean Government that its internal oppression is repugnant to our people and undermines the support for our commitment there.

We face a more immediate problem in the Atlantic sector of our defense.

The Soviet Union has in recent years strengthened its forces in Central Europe. The Warsaw Pact forces facing NATO today are substantially composed of Soviet combat troops, and these troops have been modernized and reinforced. In the event of war, they are postured for an all-out conflict of short duration and great intensity.

NATO's ground combat forces are largely European. The U.S. provides about one-fifth of the combat element, as well as the strategic umbrella, and without this American commitment, Western Europe could not defend itself successfully.

Nature of Warfare Changed

In recent years, new military technology has been developed by both sides, including precision-guided munitions, that are changing the nature of land warfare.

Unfortunately, NATO's arsenal suffers from a lack of standardization, which needlessly increases the cost of NATO, and its strategy too often seems wedded to past plans and concepts. We must not allow our alliance to become an anachronism.

There is, in short, a pressing need for us and our allies to undertake a review of NATO's forces and its strategies in light of the changing military environment.

Even as we review our military posture, we must spare no effort to bring about a reduction of the forces that confront one another in Central Europe.

Balanced Reductions

It is to be hoped that the stated mutual-force-reduction talks in Vienna will soon produce results so that the forces of both sides can be reduced in a manner that impairs the security of neither. The requirement of balanced reductions complicates negotiations, but it is an important requirement for the maintenance of security in Europe.

Similarly, in the SALT talks, we must seek significant nuclear disarmament that safeguards the basic interests of both sides.

The democratic nations must respond to the challenge of human need on three levels.

First, by widening the opportunities for genuine north-south consultations. The developing nations must not only be the objects of policy but must participate in shaping it. Without wider consultations we will have sharper confrontations. A good start has been made with the conference in international economic cooperation, which should be strengthened and widened.

To Lower Trade Barriers

Secondly, by assisting those nations that are in direst need.

There are many ways the democracies can unite to help shape a more stable and just world order. We can work to lower trade barriers and make a major effort to provide increased support to the international agencies that now make capital available to the third world.

This will require help from Europe, Japan, North America and the wealthier members of OPEC for the World Bank's soft-loan affiliate, the International Development Association. The wealthier countries should also support such specialized funds as the new International Fund for Agricultural Development, which will put resources from the oil-exporting and developed countries to work in increasing food production in poor countries. We might also seek to institutionalize, under the World Bank, a "world development budget," in order to rationalize and coordinate these and other similar efforts.

Cont

It is also time for the Soviet Union, which donates only about one-tenth of 1 percent of its G.N.P. to foreign aid—and mostly for political ends—to act more generously toward global economic development.

Third, we and our allies must work together to limit the flow of arms into the developing world.

Concern Over Arms Sales

The north-south conflict is in part a security problem. As long as the more powerful nations exploit the less powerful, they will be repaid by terrorism, hatred and potential violence. Insofar as our policies are selfish or cynical or shortsighted, there will inevitably be a day of reckoning.

I am particularly concerned by our nation's role as the world's leading arms salesman. We sold or gave away billions of dollars of arms last year, mostly to developing nations. For example, we are now beginning to export advanced arms to Kenya and Zaire, thereby both fueling the East-West arms race in Africa even while supplanting our own allies—Britain and France—in their relations with these African states. Sometimes we try to justify this unsavory business on the cynical ground that by rationing out the means of violence we can somehow control the world's violence.

The fact is that we cannot have it both ways. Can we be both the world's leading champion of peace and the world's leading supplier of the weapons of war? If I become President, I will work with our allies, some of whom are also selling arms, and also seek to work with the Soviets, to increase the emphasis on peace and to reduce the commerce in weapons of war.

Questions and Answers

Question. This is addressed in the third person. How would President Carter establish full diplomatic relations with China without abandoning our commitment for the defense of Taiwan?

Answer. You ask me a question that nobody yet has been able to answer, but I'll do the best I can.

I think that ultimately the first step would be one that already has been taken by Japan, or perhaps Canada, to try to have guaranteed to the People's Republic of China a continuation of noninterference in the affairs of Taiwan, to have strong trade relationships with Taiwan, and to establish full diplomatic relationships with the People's Republic of China.

When that time might come in the future, I'm not prepared yet to say. But that ought to be the ultimate goal of our country.

Guarantees for Israel

Q. Governor Carter, what new ideas do you have, beside the present declared U.S. policy, concerning Middle East questions?

A. Well, I made a major statement on the Middle East in Elizabeth, N. J., two or three weeks ago that spells out my positions.

One of the new commitments that I think should be made is an unequivocal, constant commitment to the world that is well understood by all people that we guarantee the right of Israel to exist, to exist in peace, as a Jewish state.

I think there's been too much equivocation about that and doubt cast upon that factor by public statements made by leaders of our countries in the last few months. That ought to be one basic change.

"I believe, also, that we should pursue aggressively the effort as spelled out under United Nations Resolution 242 that the individual countries surrounding Israel should negotiate directly with Israel, recognizing two things: one, the permanent existence of Israel, and secondly, adopting a position of nonbelligerency toward the State of Israel.

We, I think, can play a role that's presently been requested of President Ford by Mr. John Rabin and others of Israel, which I don't know if it's been pursued yet or not. I would maintain our strong naval forces in the eastern Mediterranean.

I would let it be clear to the Soviet Union and others that neither we nor they nor anyone else should prospectively plan on involvement in any Middle Eastern confrontation that includes combat. I think we should strengthen our commitment to give Israel whatever defense mechanisms or economic aid is necessary to let them meet any potential attack.

I would certainly never consider sending troops to Israel. I've never met an Israeli leader who advocated that. I would also favor, whenever Israel and the other countries are ready, the pursuit of a general approach to the Middle Eastern question rather than a step-by-step approach.

But in the meantime, encourage Jordan, perhaps Syria, Lebanon when their crisis is over, to negotiate with Israel on a mutual basis.

Position on Panama Canal

Q. Governor Carter, please clarify your position on the current U.S.-Panama negotiations. Will you, as President, continue the current thrust toward a new treaty?

A. This is one of the questions, along with others that have been asked somewhat frequently during an 18-month campaign around the country.

It would possibly be surprising to some of you to know that even back 16 or 18 months ago, when I campaigned through New Hampshire or through Oklahoma or through Iowa or Florida, 30 or 40 percent of the questions at least related to international affairs, which is a very encouraging insight into the consciousness and attitude of the American people.

The Panama Canal question has been made vivid in its political importance by Governor Reagan in his campaign against President Ford.

I think the American people have lost sight of the fact that the early agreement signed in the 1900's under the aegis of President Theodore Roosevelt spelled out that Panama should have

sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone; that we should have control as though we had sovereignty, that we should have limited arms and troops placements there; that there should be an adequate payment to Panama for the use of the canal.

I think this is a basis on which we could continue our negotiations. I would never give up full control of the Panama Canal as long as it had any contribution to make to our own national security.

But I believe the Panamanians will respond well to open and continued negotiations and the sharing of sovereignty and control, recognizing their rights in that respect. I would certainly look with favor on the possible reduction in the number of bases that we have in the Panama Canal Zone, possibly a reduction in the number of military forces we have there.

I would certainly look with favor on a continued increase of payments for the transport of materials through the Panama Canal Zone. I think it's accurate to say that until two or three years ago the rate of payment for a ton of cargo transported through the canal had never been increased since the canal was opened. We've had one major increase since then and another one is under contemplation there now.

Policy on Southern Africa

Q. Governor, what would your policy be toward southern Africa, including Rhodesia as well as South Africa, and what do you think we can accomplish?

A. I personally agree with the recent posture taken by Secretary Kissinger as relates to Africa. This is a long delayed interest that's been expressed at the top levels of our government in the acts in question, as was the case in Angola, where we waited too late and clung to the Portuguese until they left and had no continuing relationship with the Angolan people there.

I personally favor majority rule. I would do everything I could to let, for instance, Great Britain, who still claims dominion over the Rhodesian area, play a major role in outside influence. I see no reason for us to play a pre-eminent role.

I would do everything I could to encourage this change toward majority rule with peace, and let our posture be maintained through open expressions of our concern and through—as expressed in my talk—legitimate use of economic or political pressure.

So, ultimately majority rule, acquired as early as possible; minimum of conflict or bloodshed, and using our influence through peaceful means and letting other nations who have a more direct relationship play the preeminent role.

cont from NY Times
June 24

Carter Medges an Open Foreign Policy

By JAMES T. WOOTEN

Jimmy Carter pledged himself yesterday to an open foreign policy that would encourage a more active participation by other democracies in the resolution of international problems.

"The time has come for a new architectural effort," he

Excerpts from Carter address appear on Page 22.

said in an address before the Foreign Policy Association here, "with a growing cooperation among the industrial democracies its cornerstone, and with peace and justice its constant goals."

In the third major speech on global affairs of his campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination, the 51-year-old former Governor of Georgia reiterated many of the themes he has sounded in the past, criticizing the Ford Administration's foreign policies as "secretive" and "amoral," and promising a new diplomatic posture that he said would reflect "the decency and generosity and common sense of our people."

Without mentioning Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, Mr. Carter criticized him as a "Lone Ranger" caught up in a "one-man policy of in-



The New York Times

Jimmy Carter addressing Foreign Policy Association at the Waldorf.

ternational adventure"—perhaps a foreshadowing of the anti-Administration theme he would sound in the election campaign if Mr. Ford should become the Republican candidate.

Now apparently assured of his own party's nomination, Mr. Carter seemed at ease before the more than 2,000 people who crowded into the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to hear him. In his speech and later remarks, Mr. Carter did the following.

☛Pledged continued American control over the Panama Canal.

☛Recommended assistance to Italy from the United States and Western European nations after electoral gains by the Communist party there.

☛Suggested an emulation of Japan's mutual relationship with China and Taiwan.

☛Chided the Soviet Union for its relatively small amount of foreign aid.

☛Called for a modernization and standardization of the defense forces deployed by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Continued on Page 22, Column 7

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zation.

But the underlying thesis of his speech yesterday was his emphasis on new and continuing alliances between the United States and other democracies—the "natural allies" of which he has spoken so frequently during his campaign.

More Productive Approach

Such relationships would be the focus of his foreign policy if he is President, Mr. Carter suggested, and from such liaisons would evolve a more productive and effective approach to international tensions, food shortages, overpopulation, poverty, the arms race and allocation of resources.

He recommend periodic conferences of the leaders of the world's industrial democracies and said that "as we do away with one-man diplomacy"—another jab at Secretary Kissinger—"we must once again use our entire foreign policy apparatus to reestablish continuing contacts at all levels."

Summit conferences, he said, "are no substitute for the habit of cooperating closely and continuously at the working level of foreign diplomacy."

Mr. Carter also expanded another of his campaign themes—the need to include other governments in the process of joint policy-making.

"Our Western European allies have been deeply concerned, and justly so, by our unilateral dealing with the Soviet Union," he said, recommending that future dealings should "reflet the combined views of the democracies, thereby avoiding suspicions that we may be disregarding their interests."

'Partnership' Stressed

That emphasis on alliances with other democracies calls for a "partnership between North America, Western Europe and Japan," Mr. Carter said, asserting that those regions "are prepared to play even larger roles in global matters."

The Democratic candidate outlined the dimensions of the cooperation he was suggesting by calling for new combined efforts in economic and political affairs, increased attention to mutual security and a plural commitment to the alleviation of poverty.

Such "creative alliances" would also have a beneficial impact in the area of human rights, he said.

"Many of us have protested the violation of human rights in Russia, and justly so," he continued. "But said he "deplored the recent bloodshed in South Africa," and traced its roots to the "long season of racial inequities" there.

"We respect the independence of all nations," Mr. Carter said, "but by our example, by our utterances and by the various forms of economic and political persuasion available to us, we can quite surely lessen the injustice in this world."

'Live With Diversity'

Similarly, he said that while most Americans might not welcome the rise to power in other democracies of parties or leaders whose ideologies seem incompatible, "we must learn to live with diversity and to cooperate" as long as such parties and leaders respect the democratic processes, uphold existing international commitments and are not subservient to external political direction.

"The democratic concert of nations should exclude only those who exclude themselves by the rejection of democracy itself," he added.

With respect to China and response to a question from the audience—that Japan's diplomatic steps were worthy of American emulation. Japan, he said, has managed to establish a productive relationship with both governments without damaging its ties with either.

He also said that "Italian political problems have been caused by the underlying social malaise of the country," and suggested that any solution requires "patient and significant assistance from Italy's Western European neighbors as well as from the United States."

Mr. Carter's speech yesterday was the product of his study group on foreign policy, but it was essentially the creation of Zbigniew Brzezinski, the 48-year-old Columbia University professor who has been advising Mr. Carter on foreign policy for several months.

Mr. Carter on the Family

THERE IS SOMETHING in the spirit of our times that is rapidly eroding the most ancient and durable of institutions, the family. It is like the effect of air pollution on medieval statuary; you can argue about the precise source of the trouble, but the damage is beyond dispute. In their platform writing in Kansas City, the Republicans have lavished special attention on the problems of the American family and on what the government should—or should not—do to help solve them. For his part, Jimmy Carter had already established the interrelationship between the American family and federal government programs as a main theme of his campaign. Federal policy, he suggested in a speech the other day, needs to be realigned so that it works to hold people together rather than sometimes helping to pull them apart. That's quite true—although it's also true that the social changes here run at a level deeper than governments can easily reach.

The reasons for the current epidemic of dissolving families is, generally speaking, pretty clear and most Americans are ambivalent about them. They are, after all, very commonly the other side of the new freedoms, the opportunities and the unprecedented mobility that our generation enjoys. Those freedoms and opportunities also constitute a formula for great social turbulence and instability.

The impact on families is even more severe than Mr. Carter suggested. One out of every six American children lives with only one parent or neither. Among black children, 43 per cent live in one parent (or no-parent) households. Families break up most frequently, as you might expect, where unemployment and poverty are most common. But these trends run, in one degree or another, through the whole population and they seem to be accelerating. For every five marriages that have taken place in the United States this year, there have been three divorces. There have been fewer marriages this year than in the same period a year ago, but the number of divorces has risen.

Obsolete and misguided public policy often makes matters worse, as Mr. Carter observed. Welfare aid to families was originally designed, more than a generation ago, for the case in which a father died leaving his widow and children without support. Today families in a great variety of circumstances turn to welfare, but half of the states still have rules denying aid to families in which the father is present. The rule puts pressure on the father to desert. With the father gone, the family's chances of getting off welfare drop sharply. The rule is intended to limit the welfare rolls, but it can have precisely the opposite effect. The thrust of the welfare rules is no small element in national social policy. One out of every 20 Americans is, at any given moment, living on welfare.

A President can't do much about the basic marriage and divorce rates, and it's questionable whether he even ought to try. But he has a responsibility to see that federal government does not add to the strain. The whole subject has fallen into profound neglect since the collapse of the family assistance plan that Mr. Nixon proposed seven years ago. But Mr. Carter evidently has a good deal more in mind than welfare reform.

He speaks of reviewing the influence on family stability of regulations in areas as diverse as taxation, Social Security, urban renewal, and even the armed forces' assignment system. Whether the next President is Mr. Carter or one of the current combatants at Kansas City, he will have to take account of a widespread uneasiness in this country over the rates at which families break up. Mr. Carter is promising too much when he suggests with assurance that a Carter administration would be capable of reversing the present trends. But he is right when he says that federal law and regulation need to weigh consistently on the side of those families that are struggling to stay together.

Washington Post,
8/18/76

KEY CARTER STAFFHamilton Jordan, Campaign Manager

Met Carter in 1966; managed Carter's 1970 gubernatorial campaign; Executive Assistant to Carter, 1971-74; Executive Director of the Democratic National Campaign '74 Committee (which Carter chaired) in 1974; Carter's presidential Campaign Manager.

Jody Powell, News Secretary

Driver and advance man for Carter's 1970 gubernatorial race; Press Secretary while Carter was governor; News Secretary to Carter since announcing for President.

Patrick Caddell, Pollster

Headed George McGovern's survey research while still a student at Harvard in 1972; Chief of Cambridge survey research firm; head pollster for Carter since Florida primary and close advisor.

Charles Kirbo, Senior Advisor

Lawyer from Bainbridge, Georgia; represented Carter in 1962 State Senatorial recount case; V.P. selection coordinator; liaison between Carter and the general staff; his law firm in Atlanta represented Coca-Cola.

Robert Lipshtz, Campaign Treasurer

Atlanta lawyer who has been with Carter since 1966; served on Human Resources Board in Georgia under Carter; raised funds for travel expenses for Carter to utilize as Chairman of the Democratic National Campaign Committee, 1974; was Chairman of the Citizens Committee for Democrats in 1974, ostensibly formed to campaign for all Democrats, but was used to establish Carter's campaign network.

Gerald Rafshoon, Advertising/Media Strategist

Operates Gerald Rafshoon Advertising, Inc. in Atlanta; worked with Carter in 1966 and has been with him since that time; serves as media aide.

Stuart Eizenstat, Issues Director

Harvard law graduate on leave from a successful law practice in Atlanta; served in same capacity in Carter's 1970 gubernatorial campaign; coordinates Carter's task forces.



Betty Rainwater, Personal Secretary and Deputy Press Secretary

Worked for Carter during 1970 gubernatorial race; joined the Carter campaign in the middle of 1975.

Greg Schneiders, Personal Traveling Aide

Washington, D.C. restaurateur before joining the Carter staff as personal aide in the Democratic primary campaign.

Rick Hutchison, Deputy Campaign Director

Chief delegate hunter during primary campaign; served as assistant director of political research at the Democratic National Committee when Carter was Chairman of the Democratic National Campaign Committee.

Landon Butler, Campaign Political Director

Graduated from Washington and Lee University, 1963, and Harvard Business School, 1968; met Carter in 1970 and later developed the "Goals for Georgia" during Carter's term as governor.

Peter Bourne, Campaign Aide

British-born psychiatrist who met Carter while working with Mrs. Carter on mental health reform in Georgia; headed anti-drug abuse program under Carter; presently developing Carter's National Health Care plan.

Mary King, Campaign Aide

President of National Association of Woman Business Owners; heads up a committee of women designed to advise Carter; advises Carter on health programs; she is married to Peter Bourne.

Frank Moore, Congressional Liaison

Began working for Carter during 1966 gubernatorial campaign; succeeded Hamilton Jordon as Carter's Executive Secretary in 1973; served as Southern Campaign Director during the Democratic primary campaign.

Morris Dees, Fundraising Advisor

Directed George McGovern's direct-mail fundraising, 1972; defended Joanne Little in the controversial North Carolina murder trial; serves as lawyer for the Southern Poverty Law Center; well-known Civil Rights attorney in Montgomery, Alabama.

Jerome Cohen

Professor of International Affairs, Harvard University; expert on East Asian Affairs; strongly critical of government repression in South Korea.

OTHER ADVISORS

Anthony Lake - Director of International Voluntary Services

Henry Owens - Brookings Institute Fellow

Harold Brown - Former Secretary of the Air Force

Barry Blechman - Brookings Institute Fellow

Lynn Davis - Professor, Columbia University

James Woolsey - Washington, D.C. lawyer

Walter Slocombe - Washington, D.C. lawyer

CARTER ECONOMIC ADVISORS

Lawrence R. Klein

Chief economist on Carter's economic task force. President-elect, American Economic Association; Benjamin Franklin Professor of Economics and Finance, University of Pennsylvania, Wharton School; Heads Wharton Econometric Associates; member of the Eugene McCarthy's economic team in 1968; signed Communist Party Card, and in 1940's considered a post-Keynesian mainstream economist by former professor Paul Samuelson of MIT; stresses fact that neither he nor any economic advisors are monetarists.

Willis J. Winn

President, Cleveland Federal Reserve Bank; former dean, Wharton School.

John Bowles IV

Vice President, Kidder, Peabody and Company; acts as intermediary between economic advisors and political staff.

Lester Thurow

Professor of economics at MIT; was member of 1972 McGovern campaign and represents leftist economic thought on the task force; advocate of a "lifetime-accessions" tax; working on agricultural policies and income distribution for Carter's task force.

Martin Feldstein

Professor of economics at Harvard, specializes in urban issues; critic of social security and unemployment compensation; views on health insurance, the indexing of tax rates, and social security are close to those of Milton Friedman.

Michael Wachter

Professor of economics, University of Pennsylvania; specialist in labor, wage, and unemployment issues.

Bernard Anderson

Professor of economics, the Wharton School; the only Black on the task force; specialist in labor, wage and unemployment issues.

Carolyn Shaw Bell

Katherin Coman Professor of economics, Wellesly College; on Executive Committee at the American Economic Association; specialist in women's rights and ghetto economics; working on labor markets for the task force.

Richard Cooper

Professor of economics and former Provost, Yale University; former deputy assistant Secretary of State for monetary affairs under Lyndon Johnson; staff economist, Council of Economics Advisors, 1961-1963; Carter's international specialist on the task force.

Irving Kravis

Professor of economics, University of Pennsylvania; specialist in foreign trade, commercial, and tariff matters.

Julius Edelstein

Dean of urban policy and programs, City University of New York; not an economist; considered one of top "urbanists" in the country; member of economic task force.

Albert T. Somers

Vice President and Chief Economist, The Conference Board; forecasts business trends with a tolerance for qualitative credit controls as a member of the task force.

Rendigs Fels

Professor of economics, Vanderbilt University; studying impediments to competition as they contribute to inflation.

Arnold Packer

Staff economist, Senate Budget Committee; working part-time on budget policy.

Nancy Teeters

Staff economist, House Budget Committee; working on budget policy on a part-time basis.

Charles L. Schultze

Senior fellow, Brookings Institute; Professor, Brandeis University; former assistant director of Budget Bureau 1962-1965, director, 1965-1967; working on budget policy.

Jerry Jasimowski

Senior researcher on leave from the Joint Economic Committee; working on coordinating and drafting final economic position papers and adapting them for Congressional acceptability.

Arthur Okun

Senior fellow, Brookings Institute; Vice President American Economic Association, 1973, staff economist, Council of Economic Advisors, 1961-1962; tax laws expert.

Joseph Pechman

Director of Economic Studies, Brookings Institute, 1962-present; economist, Council of Economic Advisors, 1954-1956; consultant, Council of Economic Advisors, Treasury Department, 1961-1968; tax laws expert.

Stanley Surrey

Professor of tax law at Harvard; Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for tax law, 1961-1969; tax laws expert.

Benjamin Friedman

Professor of economics, Harvard University; former economist for Morgan Stanley and Co.; advocates government reform to coordinate monetary policy and political Democratic principles; developing programs on Capital Reformation and sources for capital funds.

Gary Fromm

Member of National Bureau of Economic Research; examining restrictions of Council of Economic Advisors.

Walter Levy

Oil consultant; consultant, policy planning staff, State Department, 1952-1953; consultant, Office Under Secretary and Assistant Secretaries of State, 1960-present; economic energy expert.

CARTER ENERGY ADVISORS

David Boren

Governor of Oklahoma; held various government related positions when not practicing law; formed latest oil divestiture policy (no divestiture; rather tax individual levels of operation to insure competition).

Harris Arthur

Director, Navajo Coal Development Impact Project in New Mexico.

Thomas H. Bethell

Research director of the United Mine Workers (UMW).

Joan Claybrook

Director, Ralph Nader's Congress Watch.

Thomas Sigler

Vice President of Continental Oil Company.

Joseph Browder

Executive Director, Environmental Policy Center.

CARTER FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE ADVISORSZbiginiew Brzezinski

Professor of International Affairs at Columbia University; consultant to the State Department since 1962; policy planning council, State Department; Citizens for Johnson 1964; Chief Advisor to Carter; has serious reservations as to the benefits of detente with either the Soviet Union or Red China; does not feel a defense budget increase necessary to maintain the security or bargaining power of the United States.

Cyrus Vance

Deputy Secretary of Defense under L.B.J., 1964-1967; Secretary of the Army, 1962-1964; Special Counsel to Senate Armed Services Committee, 1957-1960; counsel to Senate Committee on Space and Astronautics, 1958; negotiator at the Paris Peace Talks, 1968-1969.

Paul Warnke

General counsel to Department of Defense, 1966-1967; Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, 1967-1969; partner with Clark Clifford in Washington, D.C. law firm since 1969.

Paul Nitze

Counsel to FDR and Truman on war efforts in both a military and economic capacity; Director, Office of International Trade Policy, 1946-1948; Secretary of the Navy, 1963-1967; Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1967-1969; Representative for U.S. in Strategic Arms Limitations Talks; generally considered an advocate of defense spending increases.

George Ball

Undersecretary of State 1961-1966; Ambassador to the United Nations, 1968; Counsel to the Treasury Department, 1933-1935; partner in Lehman Bros. law firm (N.Y.C.)

Richard Gardner

Professor at Columbia University; former Yale University Provost; U.S. representative to U.N. commission on Peaceful Use of Outer Space, 1962-1965; involved in various U.N. committees, 1962-1965; member of President's Committee on International Trade and Investments Policy; member of the Committee on Sea Law.

Clark Clifford

Secretary of Defense 1968-1969; Naval Aide to the President, 1946; special counsel to the President, 1946-1950; presently with law firm in Washington, D.C.; coordinator for JFK Administration for transition from Eisenhower Administration; advises on Ford-Carter transition as well as foreign policy matters.

Milton Katz

Professor at Harvard Law School; served as advisor to many State Department Commissions including NATO (1950-1951), OSS (1943-1944), and also HEW (1967); member of White House Conference on International Cooperation, 1965.

Ruth Morgenthau

Professor at Brandeis University; specializes in African Affairs, but has no previous government experience; prepared Carter's position papers on U.S.-Angola relations and U.S. relations with the developing nations of Africa.

Samuel P. Huntington

Various advisory positions with foreign affairs committees, especially Latin American and Southeast Asian affairs; co-editor of Foreign Policy Quarterly.

Dean Rusk

University of Georgia Professor of Law; special assistant to the Secretary of War, 1946-1947; Director, Office of U.N. Affairs, State Department, 1947-1949; Assistant Secretary of State, 1949; Deputy Under Secretary of State, 1949-1950; Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, 1950-1951; Secretary of State, 1961-1968; formed Carter's initial foreign policy positions but has played a relatively insignificant role recently.

Averell Harriman

Ambassador to Russia, 1943-1946; Ambassador to Great Britain, 1946; Secretary of Commerce, 1946-1949; U.S. representative to Europe, 1948-1950; special assistant to the President 1950-1951; Director, Mutual Security Administration, 1951-1953; Governor of New York, 1955-1958; U.S. Ambassador-at-large, 1961 and 1965; Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, 1961-1963; Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs; Representative of the President to the Paris Peace Talks.

Richard Holbrook

Vietnam veteran; White House staff, 1966-1967; consultant to the Paris Peace Talks, 1968-1969; presently managing editor of Foreign Policy Magazine.

Tim Kraft, Field Organizer

Former organizer for successful National Democratic telethon; Executive Director of Democratic Party in New Mexico in 1971.

Andrew Young, General Advisor

First black Congressman from Georgia (Atlanta) since Reconstruction; Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference under Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; first black co-ordinator of voter registration for the Democratic Party; chief Civil Rights Advisor but is expected to play a subdued role in the upcoming campaign.

Lawrence Klein, Chief Economic Advisor

Professor at the Wharton Business School and is recognized as one of the leading econometricians in the country; considered an economic conservative and has endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill only with strict qualifications.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, Chief Foreign Policy Advisor

Professor at Columbia University; has been a consultant to the State Department since 1962; was a member of Citizens for Johnson in 1964; considered a conservative, with reservations as to the benefits of detente with either the Soviet Union or Red China, but thought to be a balance to Paul Nitze, another foreign policy advisor, who favors defense budget increases.

Jimmy Carter

Washington Post July 18
Scenario for the Presidency

By Neal R. Peirce

WHETHER Jimmy Carter could succeed in fulfilling the bold promises he has made in an open question. There can be no question, however, about Carter's immense energy and drive — not just to be President, but to use the "bully pulpit," as Theodore Roosevelt once described it, to gather support for and carry out:

- Stem-to-stern reorganization of the federal bureaucracy.
- Historic breakthroughs in making government open, responsive and effective.
- Broad initiatives to meet the needs of the kind of poor and voiceless people, black and white, among whom he spent his south Georgia boyhood.

If his record as governor and campaigner is any guide, he would bring to the job rare political acumen and tenacity.

He would be strongly goal-oriented, committed to bold programs and ambitious government planning.

While campaigning against waste and lethargy in the bureaucracy, he would fit the traditional mold of Democratic presidents by spending more money on social programs. Government might be better organized and its budgeting procedures improved. But it would not be smaller.

He would make a strong effort to observe constitutional limits, protect civil liberties and civil rights and assure high ethical standards in government.

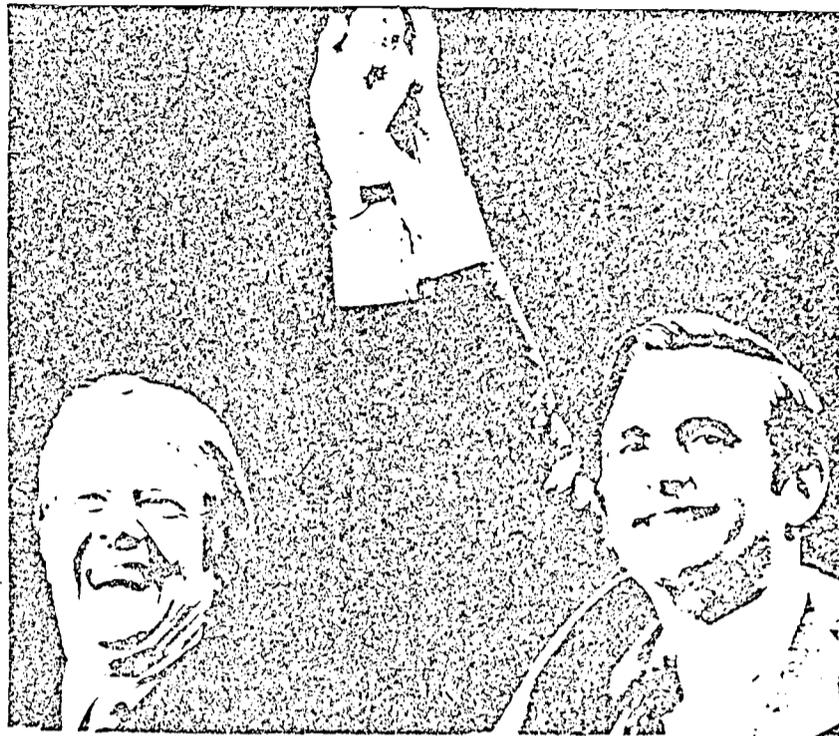
Carter would seek "harmony" and advance consultation with Congress on new programs. But if he failed to get cooperation, he would not hesitate to attack Congress, or to appeal over its head to the people.

The process by which Carter arrives at decisions on a major issue tells much about him. During the "input" stage he is open and flexible — reading widely, calling in experts, discussing alternatives with staff or task forces he may have set up.

Fireside Chats

WHEN THE TIME for decision comes, however, it is usually made by Carter alone. And once decisions were made in Georgia, it took heaven and earth to make Carter change his mind or compromise.

This raises the question of whether a President Carter might be so stubborn that he could reach an impasse of the sort that Woodrow Wilson faced with the Senate over the League of Nations. Of his experience in Georgia, he says: "I can't remember any instance, minor or major, where an adamant position on my part doomed a desirable goal."



Associated Press

The record bears out that contention. But could a Jimmy Carter, ambitious and intent on being a strong chief executive, avoid the perils and pitfalls of the "imperial presidency"?

I pressed Carter on the point, and his response showed his awareness of the problem.

He pledged that as president he would seek to make the executive branch more open, its members more accessible to the press, Congress and the people.

"I favor strong sunshine legislation," he said. "Also, I intend to restore frequent press conferences. I would say every two weeks, at least 20 times a year. And also restore the format of the Fireside chat.

Open presentations to the people, Carter said, would be "very self-disciplinary" because they would require him to reexamine his positions before they were made public. He would institute frequent discussions with congressional leaders on major foreign and domestic policy change, he said, predicting that these would have the same beneficial effect.

Another safeguard, Carter said, would be "to maintain a staff with free access to me an encouragement of an almost unrestricted debate within White House circles." He said he permits and even encourages staff members to tell him, when they think so, that he's wrong on an issue.

Relations With Congress

IN PREPARATION for his hoped-for presidential honeymoon with the Democratic Congress, Carter was on Capitol Hill even before his nomination, exchanging pledges of love, respect, consultation and harmony.

But any senator or representative who thinks Carter would defer to Congress on an issue he deems important hasn't read the Carter record or listened to his words.

"The nation is best served," Carter has said, "by a strong, independent and aggressive President, working with a strong and independent Congress . . . I have great respect for the Congress, but the Congress is not capable of leadership. I think the founding fathers expected the President to be the leader of our country."

But Carter is smart enough to realize that poor relations with Congress could doom his major programs, and he seems determined to start off on the right foot. He pledges advance consultation in the formative stages of legislation.

And he does not believe he should try to influence the Senate or House to install his allies in leadership posts. "I attempted that a couple of times in Georgia as an ostensible demonstration of my strength," he says. "It was a mistake."

Carter's friends believe that over four years as governor he did become somewhat more tolerant of legislators' foibles, did learn that when he consulted in advance with key groups in the legislature he had a much better chance of success.

But in his book "Why Not the Best?," written after he was governor, Carter had scarcely a positive word to offer about the legislature. Instead, he told of his constant disillusionment with the archaisms of the legislative process and legislators' unwillingness to give tough scrutiny to government programs. Most importantly, he described his despair about the power wielded over legislators by special interest lobbies.

In 1974, frustrated over the defeat he'd suffered in trying to pass broad consumer protection legislation, Carter attacked the 1974 Georgia legislature as the worst in the state's history and its deliberations as "an absolute victory for every selfish interest and lobbyist that ever set foot in the capital."

Cont from.
Wash. Post
July 18



ful. He never got his consumer legislation passed, for instance. But on an amazing percentage of his priority bills, Carter did prevail. He did compromise on major bills, including reorganization -- albeit only at the last moment, when he was convinced he had squeezed as much agreement out of the legislature as he possibly could.

Strong Cabinet

IN ONE SENSE, Carter might have an easier time with Congress. There is no single figure on Capitol Hill who could do him as much harm as Lester Maddox, who as lieutenant governor and presiding officer of the state Senate during Carter's tenure spared no effort to scuttle Carter's programs.

In 1977, there will be fresh leadership in both the Senate and House and probably a strong desire among Capitol Hill Democrats to show how effective they can be, with a Democratic president, in passing major legislation and tackling tough problems.

The White House under Jimmy Carter would probably be a contradictory blend: blue jeans, bare feet and country music, long hours and concerted purpose, a boss who's a stern taskmaster.

Carter says that he would name a strong Cabinet, give its members a lot of independence, and administer the

In choosing his Cabinet, Carter's inclination would be to look for new faces, and he would look for them in state and local governments.

He appointed unprecedented numbers of blacks in Georgia, and it would not be surprising to see him name a woman to the Supreme Court and blacks to Cabinet and other top jobs. He has said his appointees to regulatory commissions would please Ralph Nader.

If you want a clue to a Carter Cabinet, watch his policy advisers between now and November. He says he will seek out promising candidates so that he can observe their work.

So far, Carter's game plan has succeeded brilliantly, but the big questions can only be answered after the election. If Carter wins, will he be able to carry out his pledge to reorganize the government? Can David slay the bureaucratic Goliath; will Carter be forced to settle for a compromise reorganization that is mostly window dressing?

Carter's Georgia reorganization plan, which consolidated a hodgepodge of some 300 agencies and commissions into 22 departments, went far beyond window dressing. Former Georgia Mental Health Association president Beverly Long says that Carter "overhauled and made sense of a state government that had been proliferating into an incredibly complex mess."

Carter, in interviews, has expressed

federal government directly through them, not through his staff. He promises to give a "major role" to the vice president.

There would be no single White House chief of staff, and Carter has promised to reduce the staff's numbers.

Other Presidents have made similar pledges on the role of the cabinet and vice president, and/or the power and size of the White House staff, only to find themselves compelled to change course.

The difference with Carter might be that he has previously been a chief executive of a state -- the first, if he's elected, since Franklin Roosevelt.

Within his personal staff when Carter was governor of Georgia, informality was the key. Carter chose bright young aides and gave them much responsibility.

"He doesn't get involved in details or try to do your work for you," says Gerald Rafshoon, his longtime advertising director.

Carter could uncharitably slice up a staff member who handled a problem incompetently, but he rarely if ever turned his anger on associates for taking independent points of view.

Carter was often called cold or impersonal in his dealing with subordinates, but in areas that aroused his particular interest -- reorganization and penal reform, for instance -- associates found his leadership inspiring.

Carter believes that as president he could tolerate the exceptional degree of dissent from administration policy that James Schlesinger demonstrated as secretary of defense. But commonly agreed-upon basic commitments and long-term goals, he says, should prevent "a strategic difference developing between myself and one of my Cabinet members."

the belief that as president he could repeat his Georgia success. Immediately on taking office, he would ask Congress for sweeping authority to reorganize the federal government. His plans would have the force of law unless rejected by either the Senate or House within 60 days.

Not Pinned Down

CARTER WOULD appoint joint citizen-civil servant reorganization task forces to draw up specific plans. He says that the process "will require at least a year," and that 1,900 federal agencies could be telescoped into about 200.

Beyond that, Carter refuses to be pinned down on elements of a reorganization plan. But if the Georgia record is any guide, whole new cabinet-level departments would be likely to emerge, others to disappear. Thousands of functions would be merged.

In Georgia, Carter first persuaded the legislature to give him the authority to reorganize, subject to veto in either house. He then appointed some 100 young executives from industry, campus and state government to work on his reorganization task forces.

Major new departments were set up in such fields as human services, natural resources and community development. Old agencies weren't just grouped under "umbrella" secretariats, Carter claims; they were actually abolished, their functions shifted to the new departments. State planning and budgeting were combined in a single office under the governor's control. Concurrently, Carter instituted zero-based budgeting, a method to identify overlapping or obsolete government functions.

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If Georgians thought Carter's reorganization would make state government smaller, they were disappointed. State payrolls rose 24 per cent, the budget 52 per cent. The Carter camp argues that without reorganization, the increases could have been larger, and that those years (1971-75) were marked by inflation and general government growth across the United States. Carter's administration dramatically increased the scope of state services in mental health centers, alcoholism and narcotics treatment centers, prisons, halfway houses and education.

Many Georgians still say the reorganization overreached itself in its mammoth new Department of Human Resources, a "catch-all" combining welfare, public health, drug abuse, vocational rehabilitation and mental health. The laudable objective was to substitute "one-stop shopping" for "pillar-to-post referral" for people proved a nightmare of administration, especially in its first years.

Carter told me that his Georgia reorganization was "drastic" and "extremely controversial because it was so profound." That was no accident — it's the way Carter likes to cause change. He abhors "incrementalism." If a governor or president tries to effect reform "one tiny little phase at a time," he says, "then all those who see their influence threatened will . . . come out of the ratholes and they'll concentrate on undoing what you're trying to do."

Carter promises that if he's elected he won't "use foreign affairs or foreign trips as an escape mechanism to avoid responsibilities on the domestic scene."

That doesn't mean, however, that a President Carter wouldn't step confidently into his role as the nation's chief diplomat and commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

"The No. 1 responsibility of any Pres-

ident, above everything else," he says, "is to guarantee the security of this country — freedom from fear of attack or blackmail, the ability to carry out a legitimate foreign policy."

He believes the nation should have weapons systems sufficient "to meet the strategic needs of our country and to meet our legitimate obligations to our allies." But he rejects the notion

that the United States need keep up with or exceed the Soviets in all weapons systems.

A secretary of state in a Carter administration could expect to have substantial discretion in administering foreign policy, but nothing approaching the broad latitude that Henry Kissinger has enjoyed.

Asked to name the recent secretary of state he considered a "model," Carter mentioned Dean Acheson and George Marshall, who served under Harry Truman. They were "very strong" secretaries of state, Carter said, "men of conviction, of sensitivity, of competence and authority." But, he added, "I don't think there was ever any doubt in the minds of the American people about who was responsible ultimately. It was the President."

A traditionalist tone marks many aspects of the Carter approach to foreign affairs. He has talked of restoring a bipartisan foreign policy of the kind that characterized the Truman years. He places strong emphasis on restoring what he believes is a "severely damaged" relationship with the United States' "natural allies and friends — the democratic nations of the world," including Europe, the British Commonwealth and Japan.

For his foreign policy task force, Carter has turned to the East Coast foreign affairs establishment of Wall Street lawyers and bankers, Ivy League academics, foundations, and think tank experts — the same group which has dominated U.S. foreign policy for decades.

Despite his expressed intent to make Congress a fuller partner in foreign affairs, Carter says he would resist giving up the traditional "prerogatives and authority of the President" in the national security arena. But he hopes consultation can prevent run-ins.

Where Carter might differ most dramatically from other Presidents would be in opening up a "domestic window" on foreign affairs. He believes foreign and domestic issues are becoming increasingly interrelated and that such cabinet officials as the secretaries of the treasury, agriculture, commerce and defense all have major foreign policy responsibilities.

Beyond that, Carter believes the United States and the other world democracies can learn much from each other. "I have been repeatedly impressed by the achievements of the Japanese and the Europeans in their domestic affairs," he told the Foreign Policy Association in New York last month. As an example, he pointed to Japan's low unemployment and crime rates and its relative immunity from modern problems of rootlessness and alienation. The United States can also learn much from European nations. Carter suggested, about health care, urban planning and mass transportation.

Mary King: A Key Carter 'Brain Truster' From the Beginning

By KANDY STROUD

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 7—It was like so many other mornings during the last four years. Jimmy Carter awoke in Mary King's Capitol Hill townhouse, and at 8 A.M. bounded down the celadon green carpeted stairs for his usual cup of coffee and piece of toast. The former Governor of Georgia sat across the kitchen counter from Miss King, his collar open, sleeves rolled up, red-penciling the seventh draft of a major policy speech on health.

Mary King, like her husband, Dr. Peter Bourne, Mr. Carter's deputy campaign manager, is a Carter intimate. And like Mr. Carter himself, she is soft-spoken, sugar-mannered and crystal-eyed with an inner core of anthracite. She is described by friends and co-workers as effective but cunning, cooperative but shrewd, idealistic but ambitious, and spiritual but, when required, ruthless. Outside the family circle of Carter women, there is probably no woman closer to the Georgia peanut farmer than the sophisticated, 35-year-old Miss King.

It is rare in any Presidential campaign that any one woman has had as complete access to "The Man" both as consultant and comrade, and rarer still in this Southern-saturated core of advisers that any Northerner (Miss King was born in Manhattan) has been permitted to penetrate. In fact, Hamilton Jordan, Mr. Carter's campaign manager, grumbled to Miss King the other day, "You see more of Carter than I do."

Miss King is considered one of the Carter brain trust, on the same level as his foreign policy adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and his economist, Lawrence Klein. She steers several Carter policy task forces, including children's rights and youth services, disabled and handicapped, and health. As a delegate to the Democratic National Convention from the District of Columbia, she has been asked by Mr. Carter to present the party's platform plank on health at Madison Square Garden.

Director of Women's Group

Miss King is also Mr. Carter's chief adviser on women and was recently named director of the newly formed Committee of 51.3 Percent, a group of elected women officials and leaders who will provide Mr. Carter with a speakers bureau, advise him on a wide range of national issues and help him "search aggressively for able qualified women from every section of the land to serve at the highest levels of my administration."

The Committee of 51.3 Percent (so-

called because women comprise that percentage of the country's population) was Miss King's brainchild. When she suggested it to Mr. Carter in a memo, he scrawled across the top of it, "excellent, proceed," and she has. So far she has recruited more than 100 women leaders from the worlds of politics, business, finance and education to serve on her national advisory board.

To find qualified women for possible Government posts, Miss King says she is using the "ice-pick system," that is, reducing thousands of résumés to computerized cards.

"I want to make sure," she explained, "that for every appointment Carter makes as President he will have the résumé of at least one completely qualified woman. He won't be able to say, as other Presidents have, that he couldn't find a woman qualified enough."

Miss King said she sees or speaks to Mr. Carter about once a week, and works with him on major speeches. The King-Carter alliance is due in part to the fact that Miss King's husband, Dr. Peter Bourne, a psychiatrist, is one of Mr. Carter's closest friends. Dr. Bourne was the first person to urge Mr. Carter to run for the presidency more than four years ago. At the time, Dr. Bourne was the then Governor Carter's State Director of Mental Health.

Her Office Is His Headquarters

Both Miss King and Dr. Bourne have worked tirelessly to generate interest in the previously unknown Southern governor, winning and dining the Washington press corps over the last four years.

Miss King, who has her own management consultant firm, Mary King Associates, which provides technical assistance and conducts research in health care and community services for government and nongovernmental clients, offered Mr. Carter her office. It has since been expanded into the regular Carter campaign headquarters.

Mr. Carter acknowledges that Miss King and Dr. Bourne have been his entree in Washington.

"They know and understand the inter-relationships between people in Washington," he said. "And whenever I've had a question on women's rights or health care, Mary has been very knowledgeable and helpful. She's one of the key people who helped me put together my ideas on national health care. She'll be one of my closest advisers on health care in the general election and in the future."

Seated in campaign headquarters at a desk neatly stacked with voluminous

NY Times
July 8

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cont. from: NY Times 4/10/74

pink message slips and yellow legal pads and surrounded by pictures of John and Robert Kennedy, Mr. Carter and the poignant faces of poverty she has photographed herself, Miss King talked about her first impressions of Mr. Carter and the forces that molded her own life. Wearing a green and white Diane von Furstenberg dress, and making points with perfectly manicured hands glittering with diamond and ruby rings, she looked more like a starlet than a speech writer.

Impressed by Speech He Made

Miss King said her passionate commitment to Mr. Carter stems from a speech on mental health reform she heard him deliver in 1971 when he was still Governor.

"I had never before heard an elected official speak with such compassion and feeling about human suffering. And true to his word he developed an absolutely outstanding record on mental health in Georgia," she said.

Miss King, the daughter of a Methodist minister and a nurse/teacher, said she "always had a strong sense of public service and working to make my life count for something." In that respect, Dr. Bourne said, "she is also like Carter. That is his driving force—to do something consequential."

Miss King said her Virginia-born father fled the segregated South to preserve his own Christian principles and

to find "greater freedom in the pulpit to speak out on race." She credits his outlook with sharpening her sensitivity to the plight of minorities, both blacks and women.

A Moralistic-Activist in College

"I grew up with a sense of outrage," she said. "It sounds pious and dopey, but I took my father's sermons seriously."

By the time she entered Ohio Wesleyan University, she had become a moralistic-activist. "Very left wing? No. To me liberalism is just applied Christianity." She took part in sit-ins and demonstrations, spent Christmas of 1963 in an Atlanta jail for protesting a black friend's right to be served at a coffee shop, became communications coordinator for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in Georgia and Mississippi, and in 1964 organized the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge to the Democratic Party convention in Atlantic City.

In 1965 she published a "manifesto" calling for the rights of women and blacks; she says it provided the basis of the first women's meeting in Chicago in 1966 and helped give impetus to the women's liberation movement.

From the radicalism of the sixties, Miss King turned to Government for answers to human problems. In 1968 she joined the Washington branch of the Office of Economic Opportunity where she spent four years planning and de-

veloping comprehensive health care programs for both rural and urban low-income families.

One of her projects was the Atlanta Southside Comprehensive Health Care Center, where she first met Peter Bourne.

"I'll never forget the night we met," Dr. Bourne said. "Mary had come to deal with a hostile black community group. The group was angry with O.E.O., with Emory University and with the director of the health center. She calmed everyone down. She let every side have its say. She was the perfect intermediary and negotiator. I knew then this was the person I wanted to marry."

Field of Health

Another of her projects was Beauford-Jasper, in the flatlands of South Carolina where Miss King recalls Senator Ernest F. Hollings weeping at the sight of infants infested with worms and dying of malnutrition. She also recalls being impressed that Jimmy Carter was the only Governor at the 1972 Southern Governors Conference who "left the beaches to come by helicopter to inspect the project and to encourage the health personnel there to carry on their work with the poor."

If there is one area in which Miss King feels she has had an influence on Mr. Carter, it is in the field of health.

"Two years ago," she said, "he was worried about a comprehensive national health care system. He felt the costs

would be prohibitive. I helped him understand the outlandish expenditures under our current system could be absorbed and controlled by national health insurance."

Changed His Views on Abortion

She said she also believes she has brought Mr. Carter around on abortion. "I helped him understand abortion as an alternative to failed contraception," she said. "He had only looked at it before as an ethical issue."

Miss King is now writing a major speech on women that both Mr. Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, have helped on.

"I always consult Rosalynn as an expert," Miss King said. "Her understanding of women's problems is real and pragmatic because of the way she grew up. She was never raised on silken pillows. She worked out of necessity, so she has a good grasp of the way the world looks to women who have to work to support their families."

"This is what Jimmy wanted me to include in the speech. He is most concerned about the plight of women who work in mills and factories and on farms for low wages and still have another life to cope with at home."

Miss King insists that Mr. Carter is a "natural feminist" and is quick to answer those who call him sexist for greeting women on the campaign trail with "Hi, beautiful!" or "You're so pretty."

"It's anachronistic," she admitted, "but it's Southern courtesy. It's a matter of style, not substance."

She also has an explanation for women's groups that have railed at Mr. Carter for allowing a watering down of a women's caucus resolution at the recent Democratic Party rules committee hearings that would have given women 50 percent representation at future conventions.

'An Open Process'

"Carter disapproves of the mathematical approach," Miss King said. "He wants an open process. In the District of Columbia, for example, four out of six delegates elected were women. With a 50-50 approach, women would have come out with one less."

Miss King said she believes women will fare "better than anyone dreams" under a Carter administration.

"Rosalynn has a great impact on his thinking and she is a natural proponent of women," Miss King said. "I think he'll see to it that the Equal Rights Amendment will pass. He'll work for day care, too. That and mental health will be Rosalynn's projects. She's already investigating them."

"I anticipate he'll have at least two women in his Cabinet. He wants to appoint women throughout the Government in high level posts. Ambassadorships, Federal judgeships, the Supreme Court, the Federal Reserve System. He wants to see women fully involved. This will be a total package approach."

A Carter White House: Fast and Tough

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTA—Jimmy Carter, with the Democratic presidential nomination apparently assured, still has some distance to go to get to the White House. But his success so far and the deep division within the Republican Party have inevitably raised questions about what a Carter administration would be like.

Based on discussions with Georgia legislators and other state officials who observed his four-year governorship of Georgia at close range, the nation could probably expect from a Carter administration:

- A fast start, with a flurry of legislative proposals and possibly some dramatic administrative shakeup of the bureaucracy of a symbolic nature, to demonstrate that he means business

on his massive reorganization pledge.

- An early gesture of conciliation to set a tone of compassion for the new administration. Carter has already said, for example, that if elected he would issue a blanket pardon to all Vietnam era draft-resisters — not deserters—as one of his first executive acts.

- A tough, aggressive posture toward Congress, with a determination and willingness to take a no-compromise stand on key proposals and risk defeat, agreeing to compromise later on only when it has become clear that defeat is the alternative.

- Reliance on a few loyal and equally determined legislative liaison aides to push administration programs, with resort to personal persuasion of Congress by Carter in critical situations—and possibly direct attacks on

those who stand in his way, if it comes to that.

- A rigidity on matters regarded by Carter as issues of principle, with an unwillingness to negotiate in such areas or to horse-trade in the traditional political sense.

- A no-nonsense climate in the White House, with Carter setting an example of long hours and attention to detail.

- Early pursuit of an agenda of national goals, drawn up after a series of public hearings around the country, similar to his "Goals for Georgia" during the early phase of his term.

- Frequent direct communication with the electorate, over the heads of Congress and the press if necessary, to build popular support for administration proposals that run into trouble in Congress.

See ADMINISTRATION, A12, Col. 1

ADMINISTRATION, From A1

- Heavy use of volunteer task forces from the private sector, in government reorganization and other executive undertakings.

These and other approaches are suggested by Carter's comments as a campaigner and by the way he functioned as governor of Georgia from 1971 through 1974.

The image of Carter as a tough, give-no-quarter antagonist toward the legislature conflicts with statements he made last Thursday to Democratic congressional leaders during a day's talks on Capitol Hill.

Then, he said that while he intends to be "an aggressive, strong" President, he would consult with Congress on preparation of legislation, lean on Congress for advice in many fields and in all ways seek to work in harmony with the legislative branch.

But friends and foes alike who worked with him in Atlanta when he was governor agree that his style was to push hard for everything he sought, not surrendering until the last possible hour, only compromising grudgingly.

He began his term with two acts that pulled both the legislature and the public up short, then followed them with what both friends and foes describe as a relentless assault on the existing order of things at the state capitol.

The first act was his dramatic inaugural address declaration that "the time for racial discrimination is over"—a declaration that came unexpectedly on the heels of a generally conservative gubernatorial campaign in which Carter carefully avoided antagonizing the George C. Wallace vote.

The second act was the summary discharge of Jim Gillis, longtime entrenched state highway commissioner and father of the then president pro tem of the Georgia Senate. Gillis, in his late 70s, was technically appointed by a state highway board. But Carter pressured the board into getting rid of the old man, who had become a power in Democratic politics by virtue of his job, a sinecure from which political favors were dispensed.

At the very outset of his term, Carter with these two acts made two powerful enemies—Lt. Gov. Lester Maddox, just retired as governor and presiding officer of the state senate, for the anti-discrimination statement, and Senate President Pro Tem Hugh Gillis.

Maddox took dead aim on Carter for the duration of his term, making the senate a potential ambush for all Carter legislative proposals. Also arrayed against Carter was not only the younger Gillis but also the senate majority leader, Gene Holley, a law partner of former Gov. Carl Sanders, beaten by Carter in the Democratic runoff for governor.

Yet these two early actions also had a symbolic and psychological benefit, other Georgia legislators say now. The inaugural speech got his administration off on a note of progressivism, and the removal of Gillis served notice that Carter's plan for reorganization of government would go forward promptly and in earnest.

"Mr. Gillis sort of symbolized the old machine politics in Georgia," says Sen. Pierre Howard, assistant administrative floor leader in the senate and a strong Carter ally. "Also, he was getting older and there was some thought that the department ought to be reorganized."

In both these early Carter gestures, he demonstrated no reluctance to take on tough opposition, and in fact seemed to court it. It was the same penchant for engaging established power as a means of casting himself as a fighting underdog that marked his 1976 campaign for his party's nomination.

For his first two years in Atlanta, the battleground was Carter's much-heralded reorganization plan, and the

cont...

111 J. Kent, Washington Post 10/11/78 J. Kent 61

opposition was centered in the Senate, dominated by Maddox, Gillis and Holley. (Gillis, bowing to the inevitable, now says he will vote for Carter for President and declines to talk on the record about him).

"A lot of the opposition to Jimmy was not based really so much on the issues," Howard says, "but just on the fact that Jimmy was sponsoring it. . . . It was a knee-jerk response. If Jimmy was for it, they were going to be against it."

But despite this lineup and attitude, Carter got most of his reorganization program through. "He was winning by narrow margins," Howard says, "but he was winning on every vote."

The result was an atmosphere of contentiousness that made Carter highly unpopular in the state capitol, and gave him the reputation as an unbending zealot who wanted things his way or no way at all. Actually, several legislators say, he did compromise—but only after taking his best shot at getting the whole hog.

"That's the thing about Jimmy that was different from a lot of politicians we had before," Howard says. "He was willing to do that sort of thing in the face of what he knew would be strong political opposition. There were times when he could have traded for votes by agreeing to do certain things for certain people, but he just refused to do it."

One of Carter's most outspoken foes in the legislature, State Sen. Julian Bond, agrees on Carter's attitude, but from a different perspective. "I think he's learned something since he dealt with us," Bond says, "but he was very rigid. It was, 'Here's my plan, take it.' He was a sort of my-way-or-no-way man. He once called us the worst legislature in the United States, which was not the way to win friends. . . .

"He was one of these guys who not only wouldn't compromise on matters of principle—you admire him for that—but wouldn't compromise at all. This is a business where you have to give to get, and he wouldn't give."

Carter did blast the Georgia Legislature as the worst in a press conference, but, according to one Carter insider, the attack, while angering legislators, stimulated legislative response to his demands for action.

For most of his term, Carter fared well with the Georgia House by striking an alliance with George Smith, the longtime speaker. But when Smith died, his successor, Tom Murphy, drew Carter's criticism for lack of leadership, and Carter ended his lame-duck term in continuing conflict at the state capitol.

Carter was by all odds an effective one-on-one persuader, but one who dealt strictly with the issues before him and not the wants of those he sought to bring over. "A back-slapper could have passed a lot of the bills he never got through," says Duane Riner, an Atlanta Constitution reporter during the Carter regime who has since become press secretary to Carter's successor, Gov. George Busbee.

But Carter tried to pass legislation with the facts and his own determination. "He is the consummate planner," Riner says. "He has a personal ethic that says the day is made to achieve a certain number of goals, and Jimmy is determined to achieve them. That doesn't leave time for back-slapping or low-level politics."

Though some critics, such as Republican state Sen. George T. Warren II, dismiss Carter's state reorganization as a mere lumping together of existing agencies under broader "umbrella" super-agencies, most—including critic Bond—say the reshuffling was, overall, "helpful." Says Bond: "If you or any other citizen has a complaint, you know pretty well who to go to."

But he says the reorganization was not a moneysaver, that the budget and state employment rolls increased, and

that Carter's handling of it illustrates his worst fault: "exaggeration" of his achievements.

One of the Carter holdovers, James T. McIntyre Jr., director of the Office of Planning and Budget, says of Carter and compromise: "He understands compromise, and he also knows that if you really want something, you have to hold fast for it for a while. This was not just a surface change. He went after structural change, management improvement and immediate implementation. I don't know of any other governor who has pulled that off. If being stubborn is what it takes, he had it."

Another aide who worked closely with Carter on reorganization, Jack Burris, says he would inform Carter that 80 per cent of what he was seeking had been obtained from the legislature and Carter would reply: "I'm not going to compromise. I promised the people I would try to get it all, and that's what I'm going to do."

For all this acknowledged tough-mindedness on Carter's part in dealing with the Georgia Legislature, there are few here who think Congress would be beyond his taming.

"How is Carter going to deal with Congress?" former State Sen. Bobby Rowan asks. "Carter will be far more progressive than Congress, and as a result he'll be leading Congress. Congress is going to have to straighten up its act, because Carter will be on the side of public opinion."

Carter's successor, Gov. Busbee, was senate majority leader during the Carter administration. He says Carter learned the hard way the value of compromise, and that if he could work with the Georgia Legislature with Maddox and other foes against him, he will be able to work with Congress.

Busbee says a Carter administration in Washington would begin with a series of specific legislative proposals, and with a new emphasis on federal-state cooperation in administration of federal programs.

Beyond that, he says, fears of Northern liberals that Carter's staff would be dominated by conservative Georgians would not be well founded. As governor, Busbee says, Carter brought in numerous outsiders with problem-solving skills and experience, and could be expected to do the same in Washington.

Another influential Georgia senator, Ed Gerrard, cites one other thing to look for in a Carter presidency, a characteristic that most others interviewed also mentioned: toughness. "He's a hard politician," Gerrard says. "He smiles a lot, but behind that smile he's hard. He remembers his friends and never forgets his enemies. It's not much of a politician who can't separate the two."

Yet, for all that, none of the Democratic legislators interviewed said they found Carter to be a personally vindictive man. The senate's current speaker pro tem, A.L. (Al) Burruss, says, in fact, that "that was the biggest argument we had. I didn't think he was vindictive enough. I've always believed if you have a position and you have a friend and an enemy equally qualified, you give it to the friend. He wouldn't even go that far."

Carter, from all testimony here, was an odd breed of cat who descended on Atlanta as governor in 1971. He was determined, and incredibly self-disciplined, and if the legislature didn't like the medicine he served up—and by and large it didn't—he at least got it to hold its nose and swallow.

"I wouldn't vote for him again for governor," says state Sen. Floyd Hudgins. "I don't think he used the office the way you should. He tried to reform things best left to the legislature. But I'm going to vote for him for President. I believe a man has to stand for what he thinks is right, and he'll stand by himself if he has to. He won't bend until hell freezes over."

CARTER : PROBLEMS

New York - mes June 29

An N.E.A. Endorsement of Carter Would Be a First

By GENE I. MAEROFF
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI BEACH, June 28—The National Education Association, a 1.8-million-member teachers organization that has gradually increased its political involvement, will take the final step into partisan politics this year with the almost certain endorsement of Jimmy Carter for President.

Such a move by a group that less than a decade ago eschewed political partisanship is seen as the full extension of its new policy of putting money and its members' time into the campaigns of candidates considered "friendly to education."

Political muscle is a prime concern of the 11,738 teachers gathered at the Convention Center here for the week-long annual meeting of the Education Association, which has never endorsed a Presidential candidate.

The emerging political consciousness of the nation's teachers will also be demonstrated by the presence at the Democratic National Convention of more than 200 teachers who will participate as delegates and alternates.

In addition, the National Education Association plans to make endorsements and allot \$730,000 in contributions through a political arm in at least 350 Congressional races throughout the country.

"Electing candidates dedicated to meeting the needs of education isn't a goal, it's a means to an end," said John Ryor, the association's 41-year-old president.

Mr. Ryor continued: "Our goals, the things we need to enable us to teach more effectively and to live more comfortably — things like one-third Federal funding, collective bargaining legislation in every state, national health care, a

separate Secretary of Education, equity in teacher retirement nationwide—will not accomplish themselves."

The expected endorsement of Mr. Carter, to be made officially later this summer, is an outgrowth of the disenchantment of the teachers organization with the records on education of the Nixon and Ford Administrations.

Despite the 118-year-old association's conservative roots, it has been gravitating steadily toward the Democratic Party and spokesmen expect that more than 80 percent of its Congressional endorsements will be on behalf of Democrats.

"Republicans simply do not vote for educational issues," said Mary Magill, a first grade teacher in California who was elected to go to the Democratic National Convention as a delegate pledged to Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. "Even our Republican teachers find them-

selves voting more and more for Democratic candidates."

According to a confidential poll of the membership of the National Education Association, 43 percent of its members are Democrats, 30 percent are Republicans and 26 percent have no party affiliation.

Teachers say that they see no conflict between trying to maintain neutrality in the classroom and becoming involved with politics outside of school.

"My politics is not apparent in the classroom," said Barbara Plumb, a second grade teacher in Boise, Idaho, who is going to the Democratic National Convention as an alternate delegate pledged to Senator Frank Church.

Mrs. Plumb, who was wearing a button saying, "Dropou Ford," also said, "Since the quality of education is based on money, the only way to improve education is to elect education-minded candidates."

CAMPAIGN BRIEFS

Big Donations to GOP Decline

From Times Wire Services

The Republican Party is \$16.5 million short of its \$25 million fund-raising goal this year because big contributors "are holding back," according to GOP Finance Chairman Jeremiah Milbank. In addressing the closing

session of a two-day Republican National Committee meeting in Washington, Milbank said that four years ago more than 700 persons had contributed an average of \$50,000 to reelect President Richard M. Nixon but this year only 105 persons had given the party gifts of more than \$10,000. The new election laws prohibit individual gifts to presidential candidates after they are nominated—the campaigns will be financed by the government—but allow political committees to funnel part of their funds to presidential nominees.

Anticlimax Dept.: Delegates are

continuing to line up behind former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia. Ten of 19 picked in Colorado congressional district caucuses and a state convention in Denver back Carter and eight of 16 selected at a state Democratic meeting in Bismarck, N.D., also are committed to the Georgian. Carter now has 1,539 delegate votes for the Democratic presidential nomination, according to an Associated Press tally. That is 34 more votes than he will need for a first-ballot victory at the Democratic National Convention, which will be held in two weeks in New York.

Carter Makes Peace With Black Leaders and Renews Pledge of High-Level Jobs



Paterson to Be Retained In a National Party Post

By PAUL DELANEY

Jimmy Carter made peace yesterday with a group of 30 black Democrats that included several who had bitterly opposed him up to the meeting.

The group met for nearly an hour with the former Governor of Georgia in his suite at the Americana Hotel. Its leaders said they were satisfied with several promises he had made, particularly the retention of Basil A. Paterson of New York as vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, in a Carter administration.

Black leaders were angered over reports that Mr. Paterson would be relieved of his duties, and they had made the issue a priority item for discussion when the meeting was arranged.

Democratic sources reported that Mr. Carter had planned to replace Mr. Paterson with Ben Brown, a Georgia State Representative, who is a close Carter aide from Atlanta.

After the session, Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, Ind., who as a chairman for the coalition of blacks, said the group was unanimous in its support of Mr. Carter. This was the Mayor's first endorsement of Mr. Carter.

Others at the meeting who had not announced their support, or whose support had been lukewarm, included Jesse L. Jackson, the civil rights leader; Antonio Harrison, Alabama state representative, and Representatives Charles B. Diggs Jr., of Michigan and Yvonne B. Burke of California.

Blacks Promised Jobs

Mr. Carter issued no statement after the meeting. The black leader, who called a caucus of all black delegates to report on the session, said that Mr. Carter had renewed his pledge to name blacks to high-level jobs, including positions in areas in which blacks have not served.

"These are jobs outside of traditional black areas in [the Department of] Health, Education and Welfare and Housing and Urban Development and the areas of civil rights," Mr. Diggs said in an interview.

Mr. Carter told the group to submit to him within two weeks a list of jobs that should go to blacks, as well as the names of potential appointees. In April, Mr. Carter had told black leaders to do that at a meeting in Charlotte, N.C. Mr. Diggs said the list had not been put together, "but it'll be done now."

Further, Mr. Diggs reported,

Mr. Carter committed himself to a voter registration campaign in the black community similar to the major drives of the 1960s. This, Mr. Diggs said, means funding for black organizations, such as the Voter Education Project, to conduct such drives.

Plea Made for Bradley

The group also pressed Mr. Carter to nominate a black for Vice-President. Mr. Diggs and Mr. Hatcher said they considered it an insult that Mr. Carter had mentioned Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles several weeks ago, but had not met with Mr. Bradley as he had with other prospective candidates.

"He told us that his Vice-Presidential candidate would be from Washington, and that eliminated consideration of any Mayor," Mr. Diggs commented.

Both Mr. Hatcher and Mr. Diggs said they were satisfied with that explanation.

Other blacks at the meeting included Representative Charles B. Rangel of Manhattan; Representative Andrew Young of Georgia; Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta; Sterling Tucker, chairman of the Washington City Council; Lieut. Gov. George Brown, Colorado, and C. Dolores Tucker, Pennsylvania Secretary of State.

Some Lingering Doubts

One Democratic leader said Mr. Carter had expressed desire for a meeting's such as today's after reports that some blacks were concerned that he would be vindictive towards those leaders who withheld endorsement of him. The leader said there also was concern over the lingering doubts the holdouts held about Mr. Carter's commitment to minority issues.

"His statements startled me. I am completely satisfied with him and found him to be sincere," Mr. Diggs remarked.

"He wants to be known as the President who made substantial steps towards a colorless society. Under that concept, blacks could end up in any position in his administration," the Michigan Democrat continued.

Mr. Tucker, the Washington councilman, said: "He was saying to us that he planned to do for blacks much more than we expect from him, even more than we think he should do for us. That was my impression of what the meeting was all about."

NY Times
July 13

Washington Post July 20

AFL-CIO Chieftains Return To Party Fold, Back Carter

Associated Press

AFL-CIO President George Meany described himself as "very happy" with Jimmy Carter yesterday as he announced the labor federation's official endorsement of the Democratic presidential nominee.

Meany declared Carter would have labor's all-out support and said its vast political organizing machinery "will go right into action tomorrow morning." The move was in contrast to the 1972 election in which the AFL-CIO made no endorsement.

"I think he's a very warm human being," the 82-year-old labor chief said of Carter. "I don't think he's satisfied the way things are and I think he wants to change the whole economic picture, and that's what we're interested in."

Meany announced the endorsement at a news conference shortly after the AFL-CIO's 35-member Executive Council voted unanimously to back the Democratic ticket. Before meeting with reporters, Meany said he personally phoned Carter in Plains, Ga., to tell him of the action.

He quoted Carter as saying, "You'll be very proud of me."

The endorsement represented a return of the 14-million member labor federation to the old coalition of labor, blacks, liberals and the left that helped to elect every Democratic president since Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In 1972, Meany and the federation stayed neutral in the presidential campaign, refusing to work for Sen. George McGovern. This divided labor's ranks and helped add to the landslide reelection of Richard Nixon.

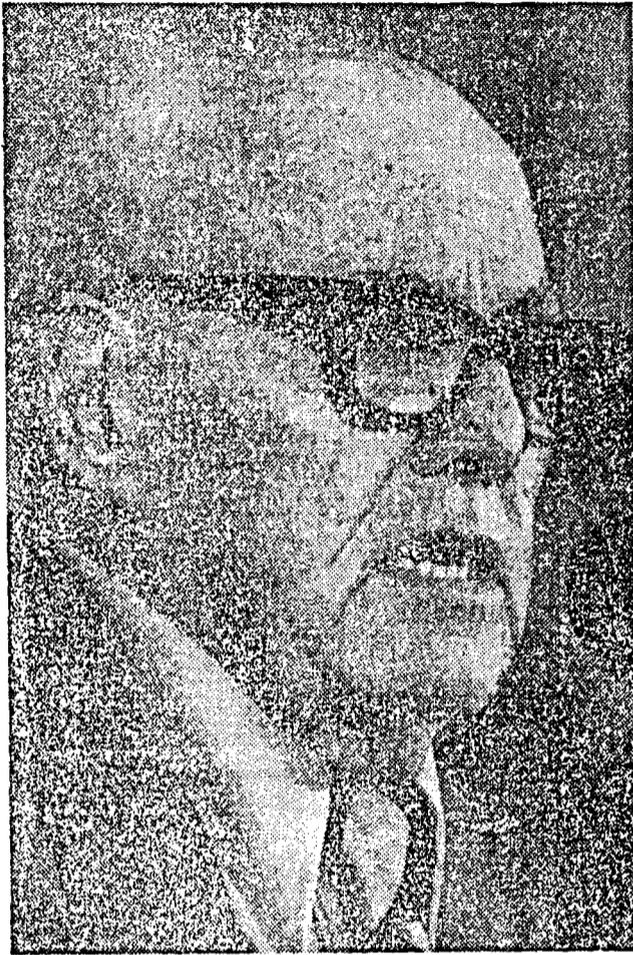
This year the AFL-CIO officially stayed neutral during the primary campaign.

Although only the Democratic nominee has been chosen Meany said the council acted now because the Republican convention next month will only pick between "Tweedledee Ford and Tweedledum Reagan."

Meany's only public comments on Carter before the endorsement were that he considered him an acceptable choice. Privately, he was known to be cool toward the former Georgia governor. Yesterday he acknowledged that he originally didn't expect Carter "to be a serious candidate" and added that he didn't really know him.

"I'm very happy with Carter," he said, predicting that while the campaign will be tougher than the polls currently show, Carter and his vice presidential running mate, Sen. Walter F. Mondale, will win in November.

The Carter-Mondale cam-



Associated Press

Meany on Carter: "He's a very warm human being."

paign will be formally certified today by the Federal Election Commission, a move that will enable the Democratic candidates to receive \$21.8 million in federal funds for their campaign.

By accepting the federal funds, they will not be allowed to accept private contributions.

The Republican nominee is also expected to accept federal funding.

Meanwhile, the Social Democrats USA, which until four years ago was America's Socialist Party, passed a resolution Sunday supporting the Carter-Mondale ticket.

Calling the Democratic ticket "forward-looking," the resolution said the Democratic Party platform is a commitment "to deal forthrightly and in a thoroughgoing way with America's most serious domestic problems."

eration's endorsement of the Democratic ticket of Jimmy Carter and Walter F. Mondale.

Meany was admitted for "three or four days" of tests in connection with a persistent bronchial condition, "which has been nagging him since last February," an AFL-CIO spokesman said. He had arranged with his doctor during the weekend for admission to the hospital, the spokesman said.

Philadelphia Inquirer July 18

Just more of the same

Carter moves to appease the liberals

By George F. Will

NEW YORK—As is well known, Jimmy Carter plans to build a New Jerusalem on the rock of love. That is, of course, devoutly to be desired. But first things first, and first he wants to do something about his well-founded suspicion that the people he will depend upon to campaign for him—liberal activists who dominated the convention floor—are not aglow with enthusiasm for him.

Carter watched television coverage of events Wednesday night, when the convention was suddenly suffused

with affection and enthusiasm for Morris Udall as he released his delegates to vote for Carter.

From the moment two years ago that Walter Mondale withdrew from the nomination race, Udall was the odds-on favorite to become what he did become, the choice of the liberal activists. Twelve hours after Udall, at Madison Square Garden, officially dropped out, Mondale, at Carter's side, dropped in again, to the delight of those who the night before had cheered Udall to the rafters.

These liberal activists are well to the left of the party rank and file. They constitute the unconquered redoubt where liberal orthodoxy is preserved in undiluted clarity. They have harbored ill-founded suspicions that Carter is bent on departing from that orthodoxy.

To help them rest easy, and incite them to heroic exertions on his behalf, Carter has given the most intense liberals all that they asked for and more than they could have demanded. Carter has plighted his troth to Sen. Walter Mondale, the most liberal person on Carter's final "short list" of seven possible running mates.

Thus, Carter's first and most important decision as nominee was an act of appeasement, bold only in that it revealed more clearly what already was clear enough to anyone with eyes to read. The choice of Mondale is additional and probably redundant evidence that Carter's creed is reflected in the Carterized platform, which is remarkable only for its degree of fidelity to party orthodoxy.

The economy? The platform endorses "national economic planning," including rendering the Federal Reserve System "responsive" to the politicians.

It also contemplates "direct governmental involvement" in wage and price decisions, and a "broad range" of new public jobs programs, including programs to allocate aid on the basis of race and sex to help minorities attain business ownership. The platform suggests a federally sponsored "domestic development bank" and federal insurance for state and local bonds as incentive for increased state and local spending.

Expanding the welfare state? The platform endorses comprehensive, universal and mandatory national health insurance financed by new payroll taxes and general tax revenue. It says the federal government should relieve local governments of all welfare costs and undertake a

phased assumption of a portion of the states' welfare costs.

Revenue sharing? Increase it; adjust the formula to add to the incentive for local governments to raise taxes; and add a new "emergency anti-recession" aid program for cities. Education? More federal aid.

Housing? More direct subsidies; more subsidized loans.

Rural America? More subsidized loans for electrification and telephone facilities, more funding of development programs.

Farmers? More subsidized credit.

Environment? "Substantially" more research and development spending.

Transportation? "Substantial direct public investment" and (this is my favorite plank) "whatever action is necessary to revitalize railroads." There is a banner to which honorable persons can repair: Extremism in pursuit of revitalized railroads is no vice.

All political parties are, in Felix Frankfurter's phrase, "organized appetite," but the Democrats should be reminded that gluttony, even concerning government services, is a deadly sin. Certainly Mondale's mis-

sion in life is not to remind anybody of that. And today, after the selection of Mondale, there is even less evidence than there ever was that it is Carter's mission.

Carter says he has "absolutely no doubt" about having made the right choice, which makes this choice like almost everything else in Carter's mind. There can be little doubt that this choice shows that Carter is content to paddle along in the Democratic mainstream in the wake of the master, Hubert Humphrey.

When Humphrey became Vice President in 1964, the man who was placed in Humphrey's shoes as Minnesota senator was Mondale. And all this year the second name on Humphrey's list of ideal Presidents (right behind the name "Hubert Humphrey"), has been the name "Mondale."

Carter says there is "no discernible difference" between his and Mondale's views on sensitive issues. Given that Mondale is one of the two or three most liberal senators, Carter's choice of him should still Democrats' fears, and dash others' hopes, that Carter presents a break with the party's Humphreyite past.

The Rauh-Carter Estrangement

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., now 65, has been the most prestigious local figure on the national political scene and a major force in the American civil rights movement for more than a quarter century. Today he is the last leading holdout among civil rights proponents from the Jimmy Carter presidential campaign, so much so that for the first time since 1948 he did not attend this month's Democratic National Convention.

Yet both Rauh and Carter, each in his own way, has worked for the same long-term goals in the civil rights field. In recent years, at least beginning with Carter's term as governor of Georgia, they have been, in effect, partners in the same cause without either acknowledging it.

Why, then, the estrangement? And will they get together in the end, as Rauh did with another man whose vice presidential nomination he angrily opposed—Lyndon B. Johnson? The Rauh-Carter conflict thus far resembles the Rauh-Johnson conflict: On one side is a political activist who is also an idealist, intolerant of expediency, unyielding on principle; on the other side is a powerful politician, a presidential candidate, who seems to Rauh to pay more attention to the means of politics than to the ends of idealism.

In mid-June, flying home to Georgia, Carter told reporters that "I don't understand Joe Rauh. He didn't understand me. There's a chasm that exists." The candidate said he didn't feel "at home" with the Americans for Democratic Action, the liberal organization in which Rauh has so long been a major figure. Carter told how he had come to Washington to meet ADA leaders and how, when he got up to speak, "Joe Rauh was screaming at the top of his voice, 'Hell, no, don't let him speak. He wouldn't come when we invited him, and we don't want to hear him.'" Carter added that "I don't understand somebody like that. To me, that's just a different world." Some of these Carter quotations appeared in *The Washington Post*, the others in the *Los Angeles Times*. And in *New York* magazine, a "close adviser" to Carter (identified by Rauh as press secretary Jody Powell) was quoted as saying: "If Joe Rauh wants to come to the White House, let him take the public tour."

One observer has remarked that Rauh has "a great passion for politics but no gift for it." But that is the generalized pragmatist's view of the ideologue, and in Rauh's case it is not correct. The record shows that Rauh has used well the political forum to make major contributions in the civil rights movement from the day in 1943 when he was the first to challenge the District of Columbia's closed Democratic primary system and went on as a delegate to the convention. There he wrote the minority civil rights plank with which then-Mayor Hubert Humphrey first forced the Democratic Party to face forward instead of backward. It was Rauh who used the loyalty oath issue at the 1952 convention to force Southern Democrats to put the party's presidential candidate on the ballot and bind electors to him (as many had not done

for Truman four years earlier). It was Rauh who used the 10 per cent minority report rule in the 1964 convention to bring before the convention the issue of the Mississippi Freedom Democrats and give them seats, thus breaking the racial barrier for that state for the first time. It also was Rauh who in 1952 ran Averell Harriman's winning District of Columbia primary by persuading him to run on a then daring civil rights platform.

In 1960 at the Los Angeles convention Rauh bitterly and vocally opposed the choice of Lyndon Johnson as John F. Kennedy's running-mate. The choice, said Rauh, was a "betrayal." The platform that year promised majority rule in the Senate but later, when, as Vice President, LBJ balked a change in the Senate's filibuster rule, Rauh charged that Johnson "has demonstrated once again that his first loyalty is to the Southern racists."

But in Johnson, as President, Rauh found a congenial battler for civil rights. Today on Rauh's law office wall is a photo of Rauh and the NAACP's Clarence Mitchell in the Oval Office with Johnson's autographed tribute to Rauh as "a fighter." Below are pens used to sign two historic bills both men fought for, the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. It was LBJ who made up with Rauh in 1964, when he needed Rauh's help, by inviting him on Air Force One and wining and dining the Rauchs at the White House.

In the end, perhaps, it will be that way with Carter, if he wins the presidency. But right now the "chasm" seems vast.

The Carter-Rauh differences began, both agree, in April 1975, when the ADA convention in Washington invited all the then candidates to speak on the 10th. Everybody pleaded a conflict or some other excuse. Rauh, however, says that he "bludgeoned" Morris Udall, Fred Harris and Terry Sanford to come that day on the promise that, if they did, no rivals would be allowed to speak at any other session. Carter, however, showed up the next day, Rauh recounts, at the ADA banquet-cocktail party and asked to speak. Rauh felt he had given his word, and so he objected. But ADA chairman Donald Fraser, the Minnesota Democratic congressman, overruled Rauh, and Carter did speak. Rauh says he had no words with Carter and he denies he was "screaming" at the candidate. But Rauh is a speaker of force, and he can make a point louder than most.

Rauh believes that there is more to the "chasm" than that incident, however. He cites two other matters. For one, he says he signed a Udall fundraising letter that was "very much an attack on Carter." The other incident was more complex.

Early in the campaign, Rauh says, the ADA was worried that Sen. Henry M. Jackson might get the nomination. So he and two others found a young writer-lawyer named Steven Brill who was commissioned to do a study of the Jackson domestic voting record. What he wrote was published by ADA to prove the contention that Jackson was not

at all the liberal he had been given credit for being.

Brill, without Rauh's knowledge, went on to write an anti-Carter article for Harper's magazine, published under the title "Jimmy Carter's Pathetic Lies." This article, news of which became public last February, created a considerable fuss and some rough ripostes by the Carter camp against Brill. The point here is that by then, Rauh says, he and Brill were friends and the Harper's piece "really scared me" about Carter.

Also, by then, Rauh was backing Udall as the liberal hope in the primaries, although he admits to the thought that a deadlocked convention could mean Humphrey's nomination. Yet, says Rauh, he has "my own problems" with Humphrey, as Rauh's critical review of Humphrey's memoirs in

Cont...

Washington Post
July 26

Cont from: Wash. Post
July 26

the July 24 New Republic demonstrates. It includes a Rauh charge that in 1968 Humphrey agreed to get him out of Texas on a ruse because John Connally, then still a Democrat, refused to tour the state with Humphrey "if I were aboard" the candidate's plane.)

There was another factor, too. Rauh says he respected Robert M. Shrum, the former George McGovern speechwriter who worked briefly this year for Carter before quitting with a blast at the Georgian. "Shrum frightens you about Carter," says Rauh. And: "If they're both (Brill and Shrum) telling the truth, there are very serious problems. I can't brush off Brill and Shrum."

Still, Rauh now says he is going to vote for the Carter-Mondale ticket, especially since "one of my proteges (Sen. Walter F. Mondale) is going to become Vice President" and "I have a lot of friends in the Carter camp." Furthermore, as Rauh told the New York Times in June, "Anyone who's grown up in the civil rights movement as I have is going to show a little humility for the position of blacks, who are very pro-Carter."

Rauh says he didn't go to the Madison Square Garden convention "because I didn't want to exacerbate the situation, to become the most famous critic" of Carter in what he felt would be inevitable television interviews. "I don't want to be the last anti-Carter person." As to the idea that he is suffering from a cultural gap, he says: "The fact that he's a Southerner, an outsider and against the establishment are all things I think are great."

Rauh also has been rowing with Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss who, like Carter, made it his major task to bring all elements of the party together.

Rauh's explanation of their differences, which are wide as Strauss made clear in an interview in New York, go back to Strauss' appointment as party treasurer. Says Rauh: "I didn't think John Connally's closest associate" should have that post.

The Rauh-Strauss differences are fundamental. To Strauss, Rauh is "well motivated" but too "fervent." To Rauh, "Strauss believes in a centrist Democratic Party, and I believe in a liberal one. Rauh adds: "I believe in the issues alone."

Lyndon Johnson believed in a "centrist" party and evidently so does Jimmy Carter. On the issues, at least on civil rights, the one closest to Rauh's heart, LBJ as President also was a liberal, but he had to prove himself first to satisfy Rauh. Apparently, Carter, however close his civil rights stand may seem today to be to Rauh's views, also will have to prove himself.

In the exigencies of a presidential campaign a candidate asks that a lot be accepted on faith. That's not Joe Rauh's way, however. He is the quintessential liberal, out there on the fringe, a noble, often lonely, figure of great intellectual force. His conflict today with Carter, though no doubt exacerbated by third parties, is the classic confrontation between the idealist, yes the ideologue, and the pragmatist. But then, for a long time so was Rauh's conflict with Johnson.

Catholics Seen as Problem for Carter

Washington Post July 16

By Haynes Johnson
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—In the closing moments of Jimmy Carter's proudest day, when he won his party's presidential nomination, a scene of unnoticed drama and symbolic significance occurred on the podium. It spelled trouble for Carter with a critical element of the voters, Catholics.

Scheduled to give the benediction, at this most harmonious Democratic convention in memory, was the Rev. Robert N. Deming of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Kansas City, Mo. Out in Missouri, members of Father Deming's church were bewildered when he failed to appear. His place before the delegates and the nation was taken,

instead, by a New York City priest, the Rev. Leo J. Daly.

Earlier in the day Father Deming had quickly submitted a letter to Democratic officials explaining why he felt unable, as a matter of conscience and principle, to fulfill his assignment. He could not agree

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either with the party's adopted position on abortion, or with their candidate's statements on that issue.

The incident went unreported, the Democrats who knew about it maintained silence, and the nominating night ended on a note of euphoria and wide predictions of victory in November. But among the hard-

See CATHOLICS, A19, Col. 1

CATHOLICS, From A1

eyed political realists here, both the platform event and numerous others are creating what is commonly being described as a sense of uneasiness about Carter and the Catholics.

The unease goes far beyond all the clamor between the opposing camps on abortion. For the first time in 16 years, the old American question of politics and religion—church and state—is being debated again. There is sharp irony in this.

Sixteen years ago, in a vastly different America, it was the Southern Protestants, led by Baptists, who placed John F. Kennedy, the Catholic candidate from the urban North, in his most difficult political position. Today, it is Catholics who are looking critically at Carter, the Southern Baptists from the rural South.

In an otherwise rambling nomination speech for anti-abortion candidate Ellen McCormack last night, delegate James Killilea cited one Catholic view as posing a warning for Carter and the Democrats this fall. Killilea quoted an editorial by the Rev. Edward O'Donnell in the St. Louis Review as saying:

"The platform makes it official. The Democrat Party doesn't want Catholics. Oh, it will accept our votes. It will condescend to permit us to be poll-watchers and precinct captains. But as far as real power in the party goes, the Democrats have decided to revive the Nativist slogan: no Catholic need apply. They have read us out of the party."

Leading Democrats here do not

agree with so flat an assertion, but there does exist common concern about Carter's appeal to Catholics. It is a complex equation, compounded by the lack of knowledge about the candidate, by conflicts within today's evolving Catholicism, uncertainty over the nature of the campaign to come and increasing criticism by some Catholics.

In an interview shortly after Carter announced his vice presidential choice of Sen. Walter F. Mondale today, the candidate's chief pollster, Patrick Caddell, conceded a certain amount of unease over the Catholic question. Carter, he said, faces "a potential weakness, a softness" among Catholic voters



especially in the key Northeastern industrial states.

But, he insists, the actual campaign will prove Carter's appeal to voters in the large Northern cities.

Caddell also reacted strongly, and personally, to talk about Catholic difficulties for Carter, and about the existence of a "Catholic vote."

"As a Catholic, I'm offended by the idea I should be appealed to as a slogan or as a symbol of my faith. I'm an American voter first."

He, and others, make another point, one backed up by political statistics and recent history. There is no such thing as a monolithic

Catholic vote. A generation ago Catholics spoke with one voice, and one authority. That is no longer so. Within the range of Catholic thought and practice, enormous diversity of opinion exists—from the militant liberalism of Father Robert Drinan, the Jesuit who serves in Congress from Massachusetts, to a William F. Buckley, representing markedly differing conservative views.

In the last decade Catholics have taken leading rôles in the civil rights movement of the Deep South and in the antiwar protests. Others have reacted equally strongly against sudden changes within both the church itself and American society at large.

Yet, as Father Drinan remarked today, here at the convention, it isn't that Catholics in such areas as Boston or New York are against Carter, but they feel "rather an uneasiness. They don't know him."

For older Catholic voters particularly—and they are the ones who historically vote in the greatest proportions—the prospect of a Southern Baptist fundamentalist, a "born-again" Christian reflecting the old Protestant evangelical tradition, awakens old doubts. Doubts about the South and the Klu Klux Klan and appeals to old prejudices against the presumed menace of America being dictated to by the Pope in Rome.

Further complicating the question has been the recent awakening of ethnic pride and resulting political action among many Catholics in the North—Irish, Polish, Italian-Americans among them—and tension and conflicts between them and blacks in the big cities.

Although the public focus of

Catholic protest against Carter at this convention has been on abortion, in private a number of Democrats are worrying about losing the support of Catholics who do not identify with the candidate's background. Caddell, for instance, sees the possible problem as being more one of culture and style than of ideology.

There are, however, some tough political facts that every practical Democratic politician must recognize.

In America today some 29 million Catholics are registered to vote. Nearly 7 out of 10 of these voters are concentrated in 12 large states. Those states contain 271 electoral votes. That's one more than needed to elect a President.

It is in these areas that Carter still seems least well known, or understood.

Others here are recalling additional figures. In 1960, Richard Nixon received about 22 percent of the Catholic vote cast, and narrowly lost. In 1968, he took 33 percent of that vote, and narrowly won. Four years ago, for the first time in at least 40 years, the Republican candidate carried a majority of the Catholics—and won in a landslide.

It's not surprising, then, to find Democrats today discussing this question, and saying that Carter has serious work ahead in the urban areas of the North.

What the peanut farmer from Georgia must do, they are saying, is to demonstrate to the voters in those areas that he understands their problems of crime and transportation and pollution and housing and hunger and unemployment, and can do something about them. Then any so-called Catholic issue could be as irrelevant in 1976 as that earlier, and quite different one, proved to be in 1960.

Abortion Plank Gives Carter Problem of Wooing Catholics

By LAWRENCE M. O'ROURKE
Of the Bulletin Staff

New York — Jimmy Carter should make his peace with the nation's Roman Catholics on the abortion issue, Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss says.

But Carter, while agreeing he has "a potential problem among Catholic voters," said he sees no need to give Catholics special attention any more so than he would give it to Protestants, Jews and nonreligious believers.

The former Georgia governor, gliding toward the Democratic nomination for President Wednesday night, sidestepped a suggestion by Strauss that he hold a private meeting with Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin, of Cincinnati, a spokesman for the U.S. Catholic Conference, the organization of Roman Catholic bishops in this country.

Bishop Bernardin last week criticized the Democratic Party's platform plank on abortion. The plank took a middle ground. It takes no position on a proposed constitutional amendment that would allow states to prevent abortions.

On NBC's Meet the Press yesterday Carter left himself maximum room for maneuvering on the abortion issue. He said he thought abortion was wrong and that he favored a comprehensive program to reduce both abortions and the need for them. But, like the Democratic Party's platform plank on this issue, Carter took no position on a proposed constitutional amendment that would allow states to outlaw abortions.

He listed sex instruction, access to contraceptives for those who want them, and improved adoption procedures.

"Abortion is the result of a failure of contraceptive technique," Carter said.

What he did not change on the television program was his position on the key question — the constitutional amendment that would reverse the January 1973 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court which struck down state laws prohibiting abortion.

The court held that a woman and her doctor could arrange an abortion during the first three months of pregnancy without governmental involvement, that the state could regulate, though not restrict, abortion for the next three months, and could "prescribe" or forbid it during the final three months, unless the woman's doctor held it necessary to the woman's health, physical or mental.

The abortion issue is but one facet of what Strauss, in a breakfast meeting in the Statler-Hilton Hotel with a group of reporters, said was a potential for Carter trouble this fall with Roman Catholic voters.

Strauss said that Archbishop Bernardin's statement "disturbed me."

Asked what he'd do about it, Strauss said, "it occurred to me, I'd call on Archbishop Bernardin for openers."

"I hope he (Carter) sits down with appropriate groups in the Catholic Church, lay people, and comes to grips with that."

Strauss said that the abortion issue was a "problem, but not insurmountable, and I hope it won't be blown out of proportion."

In a separate interview with The Bulletin former Democratic Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien, who is attending the convention, agreed Carter does have a problem with Catholics.

O'Brien has worked with the religious issue before — but from a different direction. He was a principal architect of the 1960 election campaign of John F. Kennedy, the first Roman

Catholic elected President.

It was in September 1960 that Kennedy made his appearance in Houston before a ministerial association dominated by southern Baptists and addressed claims that his religious beliefs — and Rome directly — would influence, if not control, his presidential decisions.

O'Brien said that Carter's problem is "almost the reverse" of Kennedy's. Carter calls himself a "born-again christian." He is a southern Baptist.

On television yesterday, Carter observed that President Harry Truman was a Baptist who was able to "exemplify a compatibility between religious beliefs and public service."

He also noted he "never had any trouble" with his religious beliefs during his prior government experience as Georgia's governor.

Politicians — including Carter and his aides — are reluctant to discuss the potential for mischief that Carter's membership in the southern Bap-

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tist church provides in a political campaign.

Some Catholics and Jews believe the fundamentalist orientation of the southern Baptist church is hostile to them.

O'Brien said that among some Catholics there is "an uneasiness" about Carter.

Carter had a mixed record among Catholic voters in the primaries and state conventions. He lost heavily Catholic Massachusetts and Maryland. He did not do well in Philadelphia although he did run well in Catholic districts in southwestern Pennsylvania, gaining an edge that gave him victory in the state.

Carter lost heavily Catholic Rhode Island, but carried Illinois including its Catholic wards in Chicago.

The religion issue has emerged here as one that worries politicians. They are hard pressed to articulate their qualms, other than to say that Carter's fundamentalism may upset their constituents.

July 8

Carter and the Catholics

By ALBERT R. HUNT

Back during the primaries, the word got around that Jimmy Carter was heavily opposed by Jewish voters. Soon Mr. Carter was showing up at synagogues, declaring his support for Israel and collecting endorsements from Jewish leaders.

Mr. Carter's efforts seem to have strengthened him with Jewish voters, but the significance of the whole affair probably has been exaggerated. Jewish voters make up less than 5% of the electorate, and most of them are likely to vote this year, as always, for the Democratic nominee—even if unenthusiastically.

Meanwhile, Mr. Carter has a much more serious problem, largely unnoticed so far and probably much harder to overcome. He is having trouble appealing to Catholics—particularly, to Northern, urban, ethnic, working-class Catholics.

Catholic voters, while not a monolithic bloc, comprise about 27% of the general electorate. Most of them are urban Northerners whose once-solid ties to the Democratic Party have loosened in recent years. In his remarkable surge toward the nomination this year, Jimmy Carter hasn't done well with this group.

"Carter's major weakness in the Democratic coalition is with urban Catholics," says Andrew Greeley, a sociologist and Catholic priest who writes about Catholics and politics. "I don't know if the folks down in Georgia know anything about Catholics or how important they are to the Democratic coalition. Carter may be able to win without Catholics, but he would be taking a hell of a chance."

Mr. Caddell's Opinion

Some Carter aides dismiss the idea that the candidate has a problem with Catholic voters. One who takes it seriously, however, is a man who should know: the candidate's pollster, Patrick Caddell. "Jimmy is perceived as very much of a Protestant candidate," says Mr. Caddell. "That creates some real problems with Catholics that we're going to have to work on."

With the exception of a few Western states where he didn't campaign hard, Mr. Carter has run weakest this year in heavily Catholic states: Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island and Maryland. In the latter three states, his poor showing among Catholics might be attributable to the popularity of California Governor Jerry Brown, a former Jesuit seminarian. But even Rep. Morris Udall, a Mormon, ran well against Mr. Carter in Catholic areas of Connecticut and Michigan.

"If Carter can't carry Catholics against Udall, what will he do against Jerry Ford, who has far more appeal" among Catholics? asks Jim Miller, a New York political researcher, who has analyzed Mr. Carter's standing with Catholic voters. Polls frequently show the President scoring well with Catholic voters; analysts assume it's because of his image of decency and honesty. Mr. Miller says he believes that many Catholics feel a "real antagonism" toward Mr. Carter.

Mr. Carter's problems with Catholics may be as much cultural as religious. The former governor of Georgia has had relatively little contact with urban, working-

class Catholics. "Jimmy Carter's language is different, the symbols he uses are different," says a Democratic politician. Furthermore, he adds, "there's an attitude of moral rearmament about Carter which never has been part of Northern urban politics."

One reason Catholics are hesitant about Mr. Carter is his tendency to make public displays of his "born-again" Baptist beliefs. "Catholics don't make a point of

In his remarkable surge toward the nomination, Jimmy Carter hasn't done well with this group, which comprises about 27% of the general electorate.

wearing their religion so much on their sleeves, and they get a little uneasy about anyone who does," says Connecticut Congressman Christopher Dodd.

Adds Father Greeley: "A man with that style touches very deep suspicions. There's a cultural residue. Many Catholics remember the Southern opposition to Al Smith and Jack Kennedy (Catholics who were the Democratic nominees in 1928 and 1960). They know that some Southern Baptists have been vehemently anti-Catholic."

Mr. Miller notes Mr. Carter's "constant mention of the separation of church and state," calling it "a coded negative message, which Catholics perceive as being directed against them." Mr. Miller says that historically, Baptists have emphasized the church-state issue as their justification for opposing Catholic politicians.

The Republican presidential nominee, whether it's Gerald Ford or Ronald Reagan, seems certain to try to capitalize on Mr. Carter's weakness with Catholics. Indeed, one of Mr. Reagan's strongest pitches with uncommitted Republicans just now is that he best could appeal to the social conservatism of many ethnic Catholics through his stands on issues such as busing. And some Ford advisers believe their candidate's strength among Catholic voters would give him a good chance to win the general election by beating Mr. Carter in some Northern industrial states.

Based on recent election results, some analysts figure a Democratic presidential nominee must get more than 60% of the Catholic vote to be elected. Hubert Humphrey received 59% in 1968, while barely losing to Richard Nixon; George McGovern got only 48% of the Catholic vote four years ago, when President Nixon clobbered him. The 60% standard may be unnecessarily high for Mr. Carter, however, since it's assumed he will do better than Democratic nominees traditionally do in attracting Protestant voters.

Nevertheless, the Catholic vote could be crucial to Mr. Carter's chances in several big industrial states. In New York, for example, Catholics comprise more than one-third of the electorate.

The Carter pollster, Mr. Caddell, while acknowledging his candidate's weakness

among Catholics, is confident that most Catholics will express this year their traditional Democratic preference. "There is a problem," says Mr. Caddell, "but that vote has to be taken away, and I don't think Ford or Reagan is strong enough to do it."

Another man who doesn't consider Mr. Carter's Catholic problem insurmountable is Rep. William Green, the Democratic Senate candidate in Pennsylvania. In the primaries, Mr. Green notes, "there were a lot of blue-collar, ethnic, working-class Catholics who were oriented to Jackson or Humphrey, but that doesn't necessarily mean they were against Carter."

To help attract the urban Catholic vote, Mr. Caddell has argued that Jimmy Carter should consider as his vice presidential running mate a Catholic, namely Sen. Edmund Muskie of Maine. But the pollster says that even if Sen. Muskie isn't chosen, Mr. Carter still has other ways to attract Catholics.

"Many of these Catholics tend to be partisan Democrats," says Mr. Caddell, "and I think that we can identify with their concerns. This would involve stressing issues such as economic problems and health care."

Adds Mr. Miller: "Carter must develop issues that affect these Catholics' economic survival, as well as avoiding cultural issues that exacerbate Catholic fears of him." He argues that this can be done without exploiting racial tensions.

Some Touchy Questions

On the touchy questions of abortion and court-ordered school busing, Mr. Carter may be on safe political ground by stressing his personal opposition but refusing to favor constitutional amendments to prohibit abortion and busing.

One stand Mr. Carter already has taken that will appeal to Catholics is his favoring of federal aid to parochial education. At the Democratic Party platform deliberations last month, the Carter forces quickly accepted a provision in the platform that backed some forms of aid to parochial schools. Some analysts believe a similar position helped President Nixon attract Catholic voters in 1972—even though he never made much of an effort to deliver on his promises.

Mr. Carter likely will be helped with Catholic voters, too, as labor organizations begin to work for his candidacy and as he begins to stress various issues of importance to labor, such as improving mine safety and increasing the minimum wage.

It's probable, however, that Mr. Carter's problems with Catholic voters result as much from style as from substance. If so, the solution may be for him to downplay his own personal religious beliefs while concentrating on becoming more familiar with working-class Catholics.

"Carter must spend some time talking to urban Catholic politicians," says Father Greeley. "He must go into Queens or the Southside of Chicago and talk to Poles, Irish and Italians. They must come to feel that he knows what they're about."

Mr. Hunt, a member of the Journal's Washington bureau, covers politics.

Editorial - Cox

Carter

Garry Wills

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Why Carter is different

Jimmy Carter continues to call his shots, and not only make them but do better than his own high predictions. He said a year ago he would beat Wallace in Florida, and he did it even though Henry Jackson came in strong after Massachusetts to drain votes from him (with the help of a Humphrey advertisement). He said he would win the Illinois "beauty contest"; but he also took three times the delegates that he was expected to.

Carter's is the most astonishing surge by a long shot since Wendell Willkie's effort in 1940. It is difficult to say just why Carter has caught on so well.

Willkie had some of the Carter qualities. He was an outsider as a politician — a self-made millionaire from Indiana, bright but with a country air. Willkie had Carter's skill at getting along with the press. He was also hard to categorize — a businessman, a critic of the TVA and the New Deal, yet an internationalist who had taken a very hard stand against the Ku Klux Klan when President Roosevelt was waffling.

But the differences between Carter and Willkie are just as striking. Willkie was heavily bankrolled by the Republican establishment, in ways modern finance laws make impossible. *Fortune* magazine's editor launched his candidacy with fund-raising letters to Ivy League graduates. He was the first limousine liberal on the Republican side — back then they called it "the station-wagon set" and Willkie was called "the station wagoner"

Willkie had the whole *Time-Life-Fortune* apparatus working for him when that kind of thing still counted. His main rivals, Dewey and Taft, were still too young to mount a serious challenge to the incumbent Roosevelt. Carter has no such kingmakers promoting him. He is practically self-created.

There are some similarities to Kennedy's 1960 contest for the nomination. Kennedy started early, with his own team, and made his personal charm more important than the issues. He was an outsider as a Catholic — yet that very fact helped him with urban and labor voters. He was seen as sophisticated, yet with roots in a traditional religious culture of the "ethnics." Carter, in the same way, plays off his Baptist country background against his nuclear-engineer savvy.

Yet here, too, the parallel is flawed. Kennedy came from a highly political family and background, with his father's money and muscle to use at will. Besides, Kennedy had made his move for the vice presidency at the 1956 Democratic convention, acquiring a national reputation then. Does anybody remember what Jimmy Carter was doing at the 1972 convention in Miami? (Gov. Wallace claims he was hiding, to avoid nominating Wallace for president.)

McGovern came from nowhere last time, but with the help of accidents, reforms, a rigged convention and other candidates' miscalculations. If Wallace had fielded more delegate

slates, or been able to campaign after Maryland instead of being shot, he would have arrived in Miami with a bloc of delegates that would have caused a stop-Wallace coalition to form around Muskie or Humphrey.

As it was, Muskie underestimated the caucuses. Humphrey overestimated the power of labor to swing delegates at the last minute under the new rules. And Larry O'Brien went along with McGovern tricks at the convention.

McGovern never had the strong stand in national polls that Carter is already showing — so strong that he runs nearly equal with the president, or a little ahead of him, already. Besides, McGovern had, like Kennedy, made a prior move at the prior national convention.

What explains Carter's stunning take-off arc? Shrewdness? Partly. Dumb luck? Of course. More depends on chance than we like to admit, especially in the nominating (as opposed to electing) process.

But the political setting, the prior mood, has even greater weight. More has happened to America in the last 10 years than we can easily digest. And more has happened in the last three years than in the tumultuous three years before Richard Nixon's 1968 election.

The Sixties gave us an earthquake. This is a time of after-tremors.

Carter, for reasons we must give careful scrutiny to, is the upheaval's beneficiary. We are watching atypical goings-on.



Jim Squires

Chi. Trib 3/28/76

The candidate from nowhere

Dem.
Pres. Cont.



WASHINGTON—While Ronald Reagan's primary surprise in North Carolina was occupying everyone's attention last week, the real good old fashioned kick-em-in-the-groin kind of politics was going on behind the scenes in the struggle for the other party's nomination.

As usual, the guys doing the kicking in the Democratic Party, were the Hubert Humphreys and the George Wallaces. And the guy all doubled over in pain—or was it laughter—was Jimmy Carter, the poor, little old farm boy from Georgia.

It seems that some time between Carter's victory in the Florida primary and his victory in the Illinois primary it dawned on the Hubert Humphreys that the nomination is about to become a two-



Carter: Getting his kicks.

man race between Carter and Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson—and that when faced with that choice the old Humphrey constituencies of blacks and liberal labor would pick Carter.

WITH A lot of delegates still to be selected, the Humphreys wanted to give a new signal that old HHH would be ready to go, if only blacks and labor would just remain uncommitted.

And as they were telephoning around, trying to plant the new message with the press, Humphrey raised his own well-traveled foot and took a swing at Carter in a vulnerable spot. At a breakfast meeting with reporters, Humphrey came as close as he could to calling Carter a racist without calling him a racist. And a little talk like that from the most popular politician with black

The Tribune was told by a Humphrey backer about a "racist" former supporter of George Wallace now connected with Carter, and a second reporter was reminded by a Wallace aide about "some Marxists" on Carter's payroll.

Because of the wide spectrum of voting interests covered by the party, the Democrats—unlike the Republicans—always must play group politics. A candidate who wants the nomination almost invariably starts out with the solid backing of one or more of the constituencies.

For example, Humphrey always starts out with the solid support of black Democrats, Jewish liberals, and a good chunk of organized labor. George McGovern built his successful primary campaign four years ago around the antiwar movement, which encompassed the young activist Left and women's groups. Only after Humphrey failed did McGovern pick up the blacks. Organized labor never put both feet in his camp, which is one reason for McGovern's poor showing against Nixon.

This year almost all the Democratic hopefuls started out with the backing of at least one important party segment, or at least with the stated intention of becoming the candidate of that particular faction.

Morris Udall, Fred Harris, R. Sargent Shriver went for the activist Left with lesser appeals to the blacks and blue collars. Jackson and Birch Bayh started out with initial support from labor groups. Bayh also went for the blacks, Jackson concentrated on Jews.

The one guy who started out with none of these—mainly because he had no particular appeal to any of them—was Carter. His only hope was to slice off a little of the George Wallace constituency in the South and try to build on it by picking up a little labor here, a few blacks there, and old McGovern retreads somewhere else.

In approaching his seemingly impossible task, Carter obviously decided he must come up with mushy positions on the hard issues which traditionally have separated the party factions and caused all the internecine warfare of the past.

No one thought he could get by with it. But suddenly the candidates with group loyalties are falling by the wayside. And it appears that as of now only Jackson and Carter have a chance of grabbing the deserted factions.

CARTER'S GREATEST weakness—failure to take hard positions on key

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Who Is Jimmy Carter?

It seems increasingly likely that Governor Jimmy Carter will win the Democratic presidential nomination. Which means that one must take seriously the possibility that a 50-year-old peanut farmer who served eight years in the Georgia state senate and four years as governor will suddenly become President of the United States.

How would a President Carter behave? In particular, what would he do with economics and foreign policy—the two questions that make or break a President, and two questions on which no track record can be built as a governor or state legislator? It is the hallmark of the Carter campaign that even as he emerges as the frontrunner in the majority party we have no good clue to the answers.

A certain fuzziness has so far served Mr. Carter well enough, allowing him to run on the assorted weaknesses of his opponents. Knowing what George Wallace, Henry Jackson and Mo Udall stand for, a good many primary voters opted for the guy with the nice smile. This is not a tactic that will wear well, and in an extended contest it would probably result in a stumble. But if Mr. Carter can win in Pennsylvania next week and the other candidates continue to wilt, it may very well work long enough to lock up the nomination.

Senator Humphrey has been playing a parallel game by staying away from the primary contests and the scrutiny they invite. This has enabled him to strike an elder-statesman pose, and to avoid awkward questions about donations from milk funds and Howard Hughes, about personal gifts and disallowed income tax deductions, about a guilty plea by one aide and a jail sentence for another. Nothing could do more to agitate such questions than a nomination in which power brokers trample on the primary results. If the race boils down to Humphrey versus Carter, as many analysts say it already has, it is hard for us to envision Mr. Humphrey prevailing.

In some senses, too, Mr. Carter would be a stronger candidate for the Democrats to field. He would run well in the South, forcing the Republicans to slog through the bat-

delicatessen. There is no feel for the instincts of the man, and certainly no feel for the depth of his conviction on any issue.

It is a marvelous piece of effrontery for Mr. Carter to say, for example, that his defense policy advisers are Paul Warnke and Paul Nitze, two men who agree on nothing except the Democratic Party. His major foreign policy address consisted of one half attacking Henry Kissinger for being too soft on the Russians and one half attacking Daniel Patrick Moynihan for being too hard on the Third World.

On economic policy, similarly, Mr. Carter one time will say the nation can't afford to bail out New York and another time will say he'd fight unemployment and take his chances with inflation. Faced with the endless implications of the Humphrey-Hawkins employment bill, he is for it one day and against it the next depending on the detail of what unemployment target is chosen. As Winston Churchill once remarked, this pudding has no theme.

Mr. Carter has of course enunciated the themes of love and efficient management, and certainly there is a place for symbolic as well as substantive politics. But motherhood themes can be dangerous. Mr. Carter's pledge never to tell a lie invites a contest to find the first one. His pledge of management efficiency invites frustration; one can picture the conversation in which he takes the new federal organization chart and explains the boxes and lines to, say, Senator Russell Long. In any event, more efficient management of what policy?—substance cannot be long avoided.

Seeking the presidency is an act of consummate ambition, after all, with which the pose of anti-politician sets uncomfortably. The usual justification for such ambition is public purpose, a sense that a politician wants power not merely for its own sake, but to accomplish something for the body politic. And whatever their shortcomings the other major contenders—Mr. Humphrey, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Udall, Mr. Ford, Mr. Reagan—manage to convey that they seek the power for some purpose, from helping the underdog to cooling government excesses.

Jerald terHorst

Stop Carter movement gears up

CHICAGO TRIBUNE 2/27/76 D-143.



WASHINGTON—The paramount message of the New Hampshire presidential primary is that liberal Democrats and the progressive wing of the Republican Party are in trouble. The reasons, however, are not identical.

Jimmy Carter's clear victory over four rivals illustrates the point for the Democrats. As long as the liberals continue to field a bevy of candidates like Morris Udall, Birch Bayh, Fred Harris, and Sargent Shriver, the party's natural liberal majority will continue to be divided and thus can be conquered by a more moderate Democrat like Georgia's former governor.

FOR MODERATE to liberal Republicans, the situation is almost the reverse. President Ford squeaked by in New Hampshire, but just barely. Conservative Ronald Reagan was the official loser but he and his supporters can legitimately claim "a moral victory" of sorts and move on strongly into Florida and Illinois, the next big Reagan-Ford battlegrounds.

To progressive Republicans, the meaning is obvious. Reagan remains a threat. So long as he does, they have no choice but to stick with Ford. And as long as the President continues to top Reagan, however narrowly, he is not likely to alter his strategy of courting the conservatives and ignoring the moderate-to-liberal wing of the GOP.

Ex-Gov. Reagan has demonstrated that Ford is vulnerable and by no means a sure winner of all the primaries. Conservatives reason, not without merit, that he must keep wooing the Republican right to stay ahead. And if Reagan can't take the nomination away from Ford, he still may wind up on the ticket as the Ford running mate. That irks progressive Republicans as much as anything.

Democratic liberals, however, have more of a chance to improve their position than the Republican left-of-center voters.

In New Hampshire, Carter had center field all to himself. In Massachusetts, Florida, and other upcoming primaries he will face serious competition from George Wallace and Henry Jackson who also lay claim to the Democratic center and right.

Thus we will have what Richard Scammon, the election analyst, terms a "sub-primary." Indeed, we will have two of them in the coming weeks. One will test Carter against Jackson, Wallace and, in some instances, Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp. The second sub-primary will be the stake-out among the liberals—Udall, Bayh, Shriver, and Harris.

My guess is that these sub-primaries on the Democratic side will keep four candidates in the running—Carter, Jack-

son, Udall, and Bayh—with Wallace remaining as a thorn in the party's side right up to the July convention in Madison Square Garden.

THAT JIMMY CARTER should be in it at all is perhaps the biggest surprise of the 1976 season.

His success in New Hampshire cannot be attributed solely to disarray on the liberal side. Carter's personal charm, stamina, and superior campaign organization were clearly evident in New Hampshire. After earlier strong showings in Iowa and Maine, Carter has amply demonstrated that a southerner and a person without any previous national exposure can pull votes north of the Mason-Dixon Line.

But Carter is also vulnerable. The combined votes of his liberal rivals would have beaten him in New Hampshire. That will increasingly become a threat to Carter as the liberal field narrows down. Moreover, the worried factions within the Democratic Party—liberal labor organizations and the party's intelligentsia—will now join together in a major stop-Carter movement. His record in Georgia and campaign statements will be combed for flaws and inconsistencies. Carter smiled through his first bout with such chicken-scratching in New Hampshire, but it will get more savage now.

Washington Star

The Atlanta Constitution, Jan 31, 76

Hal Gulliver

Carter and Wallace: 1970 and 1976

A Georgia critic of Jimmy Carter recently sent this message to Alabama Gov. George Wallace: "You elected Carter governor, and now it looks like you might get him elected President."

The critic didn't really believe that Carter will end up in the White House. But there is at least a certain partial truth in the comment; the careers of George Corley Wallace and James Earl Carter have intertwined in curious fashion.

In 1970, when Carter was elected governor of Georgia, Wallace was perhaps at a peak of popularity in this state (he may or may not be still that popular, that's something we're going



to find out about in Georgia's first presidential primary this spring). Wallace had actually carried Georgia just two years before, in the 1968 presidential year, running well ahead of both Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey. Wallace got 10 million votes over the country that year, the strongest showing that a third party candidate had made in more than 50 years.

So in this context, Carter used Wallace as a political weapon against his main opponent, former Gov. Carl Sanders. Sanders and Wallace had a history of being political enemies, not just a question of differing on issues but specific and fairly personal political scars. Wallace openly supported Sanders' main opponent in 1962, when the Augusta lawyer won the governorship, and Sanders responded while governor by blocking Wallace boosters from using a National Guard building for a Wallace speech.

The Sanders action had the effect of

blocking the speech; the Wallace backers called off their rally and somehow it never got rescheduled.

Carter used that against Sanders with a vengeance in the 1970 campaign, saying mildly over and over that it just wasn't right for a governor of Georgia to be so rude to the governor of the neighboring state of Alabama. Why, Carter said, if he were governor he would go out of his way to invite George Wallace to Georgia to speak.

Racist? No, it is not, though Carter critics felt bitterly at the time that Carter was indirectly appealing to segregationist sentiment. Politically expedient? Sure, a lot of Wallace admirers took due note of the Carter comment and really thought it probably indicated that Carter and Wallace were soul mates. Yet, it should be added that Carter campaigned actively in both white and black communities, and there is no evidence

that he ever said anything which even implied segregationist sentiment.

Now, in a curious turn, Carter is viewed by many as the anti-Wallace candidate: the one who just may have a chance to defeat the Alabama governor in the important Florida primary. Wallace is right in one thing, a good many influential Democrats are more than willing to help Carter in states where he would be the main Wallace opponent. Yet it is far from clear that these same Democrats would support Carter against all other potential Democratic nominees.

But it is interesting, Carter himself says the Florida primary is the make or break one for him. And that means, really, that his national political future depends on how well he runs against George Wallace, the same man whose rights of free speech Carter talked about so sympathetically in the 1970 governor's race.

David S. Broder

USABLE
Busing

Questions About Carter

MILWAUKEE—An incident at the Vel Phillips YWCA here one afternoon last week may shed some light on the paradox of the Jimmy Carter campaign. It also shows why some who have been watching him have trouble deciding whether they are covering the most promising political figure to emerge in the 1970s or the most skillful demagogue.

As is often the case when he has a black audience, Carter spoke with an eloquence, a simplicity, a directness that moved listeners of both races.

He spoke of the fundamentals that unite this country—of restoring "those precious things we've lost," like love of country and trust and pride in its government—"the things that made us all proud in the past and have kind of slipped out of our hands."

He reminded us that peasants in Latin America and villagers in Africa "felt when John Kennedy was in the White House that our country, big and powerful as it is, cared about them." He suggested that "those small countries, new and struggling and poor, want a friend. They could respect us if we respected them. They would trust us if we were trustworthy."

And then, having intimated his empathy for the nations on the other side of the great North-South division in the globe, this son of the American South reached out across the great barrier between the races in this land, and said:

"If I've got one solid base of support in this election, it's been among the black people of this nation . . . and I cherish it as much as anything I've had in my life—that confidence—and I would never do anything to betray that confidence. I would rather die first."

He said, as he has done before to white audiences and black, that Martin Luther King Jr. had liberated the whites in the South as much as he had the blacks, by freeing them from the burden of guilt and segregation. And he said that his candidacy for the presidency would be quite literally impossible had Dr. King not "removed from the South the stigma of being preoccupied with the race issue."

One would have to be made of stone to be unmoved by the surge of emotion—the communion—between those black listeners and that white speaker who hopes to be their President. And one would have to be blind not to see what a boon it would be for this country to have a President who inspired that trust in blacks as in whites.

And that irresistible surge of hope and belief is what made it all the harder to accept what happened in the next few moments, because if Carter did not "betray" that confidence" he had built in his audience, he did little to merit it.

He had been asked, he said, his views on "school integration . . . and I'll give you the same answer I gave in Jackson, Miss., and Biloxi, Miss., and Montgomery, Ala., and Asheville, N.C., and in New Hampshire."

But the truth is he did not give the same answer he had given in those cities. He did not even give the same answer he had given three hours earlier to a predominantly white audience at Marquette University or would give an hour later, to another white audi-

ence at a fund-raiser at the Red Carpet Inn.

He gave the blacks at the YWCA about one-third of his standard response, then turned to another topic. And when a reporter, who had been caught up in the emotion of the gathering and had begun to believe that this man was all that his admirers say he is, realized what had happened, the sense of betrayal was as sharp and painful as if someone had punched him in his stomach and knocked the air out of his lungs.

Carter began by saying, as he always does, that the passage of the civil rights acts had been "the best thing that has happened in the South in my lifetime." He told how his daughter goes to "a typical south Georgia school" and how "last year in the second grade, she had 13 white classmates, 16 black classmates, a black teacher. She's getting a good education. She goes there because she wants to, because her momma and daddy want her to. And that's typical and it's good and I'm proud of it. So school integration, I'm for it. It hasn't hurt us; it's helped us."

He stopped his answer there at the YWCA, turning to a discussion of welfare reform, and leaving unsaid some important things that, for one reason or another, he thought the audiences at Marquette and the Red Carpet Inn should hear.

At both those other occasions, after citing his daughter's experience, Carter immediately said: "We tried mandatory busing in Atlanta and it didn't work." He asserted that only the children of the poor were bused and that Atlanta of both races preferred a plan which made busing voluntary, which

gave blacks an increased voice in the school system and which assured that "no child is bused against the wishes of the child."

"So in effect," he said at Marquette, "you've got voluntary busing with black participation in the management of the school system. Now, that's what I personally favor," adding that as President he would enforce court orders, whether or not he agreed with them, and would not support an anti-busing constitutional amendment, because it is "divisive."

That is a perfectly defensible position, but if any of the blacks at the YWCA understood that to be Carter's view, they did it through a process of divination, and not because of what he had said.

Was it accidental or opportunistic—the omission of the entire section of his standard answer dealing with school integration in a big city like Atlanta, when speaking to a black audience in another city now struggling with that very issue?

Was it a deliberate deception—or just a fortuitous circumstance—that Carter left his black listeners thinking that the serene picture of his daughter's second grade is what he sees as the ideal?

Was it misleading or not for a candidate who has pledged "never deliberately to mislead you" to say to a black audience, "School integration, I'm for it," and to a white audience, "Forced busing, I don't like it"?

No one can judge another's motives, but these are the questions that arise in covering Carter.

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Busing

Carter
Editorials

The Los Angeles Times, April 14, 76

Carter: a Look at the Big Picture

BY DAVID S. BRODER

WASHINGTON—The cartoon in this week's New Yorker shows a quizzical gentleman with a campaign button reading, "Jimmy Carter—I think." That is a pretty good summary of the equivocal status at the moment of the Democrats' front-runner.

The "ethnic purity" controversy has brought the first major crisis to the former Georgia governor's pursuit of the presidential nomination, and has caused the first serious waverings among many who were beginning to believe in either the desirability or the inevitability of a Carter victory.

As is often the case in politics, it has also caused some to forget how much Carter has already accomplished.

He has changed the nature of the 1976 election, and even if his own campaign were to stop dead in its tracks—which it will not—fundamental aspects of the Democratic Party and the presidential campaign would have been altered.

The first change for which Carter can claim credit is in the relationship of black leaders to others in the Democratic Party hierarchy. Blacks have earned an increasing role in that party ever since John Kennedy's campaign of 1960. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey all enjoyed the confidence and

benefited from the advice of black Americans. But in every case, it seems fair to say, these Democratic Presidents and presidential candidates enlisted the aid and assistance of black leaders only after they had secured their basic support in the white community.

Carter's candidacy has been of a different character. The first and, for months, only prominent Georgia politician to support him was Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.), a black. Young and State Rep. Ben Brown head a touring group of black politicians who have perhaps been Carter's most indefatigable campaigners. By all odds, Carter's most important endorsement is the one he has received from the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr.

Unlike the last four Democratic nominees, who used their strength among whites to cajole backing from blacks, Carter has used his support from black voters and black leaders in an effort to establish his credibility in the eyes of whites—particularly the activist liberals and trade-union leaders. The alternation in the relationship—the out-front role for blacks in his campaign—is likely to be remembered and felt by others in the Democratic Party, no matter what happens to Carter himself.

The second thing he has done is to redefine the South for other politicians of both parties. In oversimplified terms, for the past decade the South has been seen by most politicians as George Wallace country.

The belief has been inculcated that the

South would give its votes either to the Alabama governor or to the politician who could most effectively echo parts of Wallace's appeal—whether it was Barry Goldwater or Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew or Ronald Reagan.

That was always a distortion and an oversimplification of reality. In the same period that Wallace was claiming to speak for the South, the Confederate states elected other governors and members of Congress from both parties who were moderate in their racial views and progressive in their economic and social philosophies.

Southern politicians were the heroes of the long impeachment ordeal—from Sam Ervin to Barbara Jordan.

But it remained for Carter and his defeats of Wallace in the Florida and North Carolina primaries to demonstrate conclusively that the moderate voices are dominant in the South. And, by doing that, he has not only increased the chances of Southerners being on both tickets in 1976, but has changed the kind of appeal that all presidential candidates will make to the South—and thus to the nation.

None of this is offered to mitigate or justify the disturbing, distasteful language Carter used in discussing housing policy—for which he later apologized. But it is part of his record, as much as the words for which he is properly being called to account, and it should not be forgotten.

*Conrad and Inferlandi are on vacation.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

3/11/76 *Week Book D. P. ...*
Carter's Campaign:

The McGovern Factor

CHICAGO — As Jimmy Carter hurried through Chicago in a 15-hour campaign day prior to today's Illinois Democratic primary, constantly at his side was a left-wing politician and reformer named James Wall — a fact central to Carter's intricately wrought plot to become President.

Wall, a Methodist clergyman and editor of the super-liberal *Christian Century*, was Illinois state chairman for Sen. George McGovern in 1972 and plays the same role for Carter in 1976. He is not alone. Erstwhile McGovernites dominate Carter's organization in Illinois and elsewhere (especially Florida, scene of his most impressive victory).

Yet, Carter still straddles issues with devout ideological agnosticism. He is, therefore, attempting a four de force in keeping a McGovernite cadre while avoiding the pure left positions fatal to McGovern with the electorate four years ago.

This feat could well nominate the smiling peanut farmer from Georgia. While nationally prominent liberals distrust Carter and demand more clearly enunciated positions, former state-level McGovernite activists are on the ground floor of his campaign and, therefore, willing to shed an ideological scruple to enter the halls of power. That means significant Carter sentiment on the party left not only against Sen. Henry M. Jackson but even Sen. Hubert Humphrey as a brokered candidate.

Accordingly, when Carter arrived here after his Florida triumph, he made no slight change in his ideologically nondescript posture. Carefully reciting his memorized formulations, balancing himself on all issues, Carter told us he would not tailor his rhetoric to woo the left. He was willing to endure a little booing at college campuses in Chicago and Champaign last week when he favored "blanket pardon" and opposed "blanket amnesty" for Vietnam draft dodgers; better angry students than an angry Middle America.

While avoiding McGovern's follies, Carter was seeking McGovern's blessing. McGovern has privately confided he so distrusts Carter that he might prefer even hawk Scoop Jackson in a Hobson choice. So, Carter recently telephoned McGovern with this plea: Call me on the campaign trail if you

Louis Manilow, past contributor to McGovern and other liberal candidates and now Carter's chief Illinois fundraiser.

But Carter's base goes well beyond McGovern's. Co-host with Manilow at a \$250-a-ticket cocktail party for Carter at the posh Metropolitan Club last week was ex-Atlanta Braves owner Bill Bartholomay, a rich Chicago businessman with vague Republican antecedents. Thus, the party mixed McGovernite veterans and Republican neophytes. One Republican lawyer, who never before had supported a Democrat for President or contributed to any political candidate, told us he expected a President Carter to "cut hell out of the bureaucracy" in Washington.

Nor does Carter pursue the old liberal baiting of Mayor Richard J. Daley's organization. Although Carter is widely supported by anti-Daley reformers, he has pledged to Daley that any Carter delegates elected in Illinois will vote for the mayor to head the state's convention delegation.

Hearing erroneous reports that Daley was supporting ex-Chicagoan Sargent Shriver in the four-man presidential primary here (in fact, the mayor is neutral), a Carter campaign underling placed a complaining telephone call to Daley's office. Wishing no trouble at city hall, Wall quickly placed a second call reassuring the Daley camp the complaint was totally unauthorized. That satisfied the Daley aide, who never realized this was the same Jim Wall who had long been Daley's hair-shirt in suburban Dupage County.

Among sophisticated liberals who have not succumbed to Carter's Southern charm, there is apprehension over his non-positions on abortion, busing, defense, health and energy. When Carter straddled the amnesty issue last week, some McGovernites here said they wanted out. Nor were reformers overjoyed by newspaper pictures of Carter's breakfasting with Lt. Gov. Neil Hartigan, a young lion of the Daley organization detested by Carter's liberal supporters.

But fundraiser Lou Manilow typifies new flexibility on the left which permits Carter to seek "moderate middle courses to unite the country." Manilow accepts "blanket pardon" instead of "blanket amnesty," which would be unacceptable to most voters.

— Left: Carter has char-

Carter's Secret

By Richard Reeves

"...The barefoot boy with cheek is mixing politics and religion... and he may be capable of doing it with devastating effect..."

What makes us great? "Love of God, love of land, love of our children," said Jimmy Carter as he moved through Florida on an incredible pilgrimage he believes will take him from Plains, Georgia, to the White House. "There is no reason I should feel different about you," he told 200 black students at Florida Memorial College, "than I feel about my little eight-year-old daughter when I walk in the door at home. . . . God bless you all."

Newsweek had a lovely line about Jimmy Carter: "It is said around Plains that you love him in fifteen minutes, hate him in six months and understand him in ten years." I've known him more than fifteen minutes and less than six months. The word *love* does not come to me as easily as to him, but I am very impressed. My first impression is that he is head and shoulders above most of the politicians I've seen in recent years—a brilliant politician who may have a feel for a kind of post-ideological leadership of a media nation.*

On one level, campaigning, Carter's political brilliance seems beyond debate. A man does not come from where he did to within reaching distance of the presidency without establishing, *prima facie*, that he is one sharp country politician. There is a qualitative difference between Carter's rise and the Eastern Establishment's projection of Wendell Willkie, the nation's hero worship of Dwight Eisenhower, or the antiwar movement's adoption of George McGovern. Carter started in the suburbs of nowhere; he was from the wrong part of the country and was fairly unpopular there. After one controversial

*I first met Carter, actually, more than a year ago when, in the process of courting the press, he invited me to breakfast. But I don't count that, because I didn't pay any attention. I thought he was wasting his time (and mine) and I can't remember a word he said.

term as a governor, he had no constituency, no identification with the political movement, and not much money—peanuts, in fact.

On deeper levels, Carter, it seems to me, has figured out a couple of very important things: that what national leaders and other candidates perceive as a political crisis is actually a spiritual crisis, and that more symbolic communication is the best way to reach Americans drifting in an atmosphere saturated with instant communications. The barefoot boy with cheek is mixing politics and religion, and, like Jerry Brown in California, William Jennings Bryan, or, more significantly, Gandhi, he may be capable of doing it with devastating effect.

Carter's autobiography, a fascinating book, was published by Broadman Press of Nashville, a religious publisher whose other titles include *Politics and Religion Can Mix!* These lines are from Carter's book:

"I have come to realize that in every person there is something fine and pure and noble, along with a desire for self-fulfillment. Political and religious leaders must attempt to provide a society within which these human attributes can be nurtured and enhanced. . . . I would hasten to point out that nowhere in the Constitution of the United States, or the Declaration of Independence, or the Bill of Rights, or the Emancipation Proclamation, or the Old Testament or the New Testament do you find the words 'economy' or 'efficiency.' Not that these two words are unimportant. But you discover other words like honesty, integrity, fairness, liberty, justice, courage, patriotism, compassion, love . . . words which describe what a government of human beings ought to be."

In *The New Republic*, "FRB," follow-

ing Carter in New Hampshire, reported: "My impression is that audiences yearn to believe Jimmy Carter. They're looking for something. It is his manner and tone." Also, it is his words. Without embarrassment (to himself or his audience) Carter is able softly to preach love, invoke the name of the Lord, say that he has found Jesus, that he is washed in the blood of the Lamb, that "I am twice born." Also, the yearning crowds seem to go away believing, including a surprisingly high proportion of the working press. We want to believe, too.

It is clear that Carter perceives and understands the yearning. Loss of faith in government is one thing, but, to many people, loss of faith in *anything* is everything. The breakdown of religion, the loss of a comprehensible moral framework—of rules—may be the United States' overriding crisis. What is right and wrong today in America? Are our great political issues actually moral: Race? Vietnam? Watergate? The CIA? Corporate bribes?

Was it the old religious framework that held families together? No doubt those rules, graven in stone, were part of it. No doubt Jimmy Carter knows what he is doing when he refers constantly and reverently to "my daddy" and "my mamma."

Carter is onto something, and he comes by it honestly. He is a real down-home Baptist whose life has revolved around the church, including years of missionary trips and teaching Sunday school before, while, and after he was governor of Georgia. His sister, Ruth Stapleton, is an evangelist and faith healer of some reputation, described by her brother as a woman "expressing in the most refreshing way her deep faith and personal relationship with Christ." (Mrs. Stapleton, whose home base is Fayetteville, North Carolina, is also an effective political organizer, according to Carter's staff, which has used



her religious contacts to recruit campaign workers at caucus delegates in places like rural (va.)

In 1962, when Carter was considering his first political race, for the Georgia Senate, he talked with an evangelist friend. "If you want to be of service to other people," the preacher said, "why don't you go into the ministry or into some honorable social service work?" Carter remembers answering, "How would you like to be pastor of a church with 30,000 members?"

Now, instead of a State Senate constituency of 80,000, Carter is being looked over by a membership of 215-million. How do you reach that many people, media-bombarded people with their senses dulled by instant, constant information? Perhaps the answer is that you reach them the same way you reach millions of people without any information network—Gandhi solved that 50 years ago in India by communicating through the most basic symbolism. Perhaps the most complex and most primitive societies are both receptive to religious-political communication simply rooted in their own traditions. Fasting as a means of protest. Marching to the sea to raise a fistful of free salt to condemn a British colonial salt tax. Mahatma Gandhi slept on a mat; ex-seminarian Jerry Brown sleeps on a mattress on the floor. Their constituencies perceive them in the same way, as somehow at a level above politics.

Carter draws on the symbolism of Christianity and the land—"I'm a fah-minh, my daddy's people been fah-min' the same piece of land for 210 years"—and that symbolism touches deep roots in many Americans, no matter how irreligious or urban their lives may be now. A man who understands that also understands that politics and leadership can be a little more creative than just constructing an inoffensive record.

Calculated inoffensiveness—rhetoric that no longer has meaning—is one of the high goals and hallmarks of the United States Congress and Washington itself. Congress and Washington, of course, consider the presidency their prerogative and property. Who is this Jimmy Carter—"Wee Jimmy," as James Reston disdainfully calls him—a former governor without the dignity to call himself by his rightful name, James Earl Carter Jr.?

Washington is in a small panic over "Wee Jimmy." The titans of old Washington, led by Reston, Averell Harriman, and Hubert Humphrey, seem ready to take to the streets of Georgetown. Why? Mark Shields, the Dr. Johnson of Duke Zeibert's, summed it up: "The problem is that no one in Washington owns a piece of Jimmy Carter."

Guests at Harriman's house, which

“...Washington is in a small panic over ‘Wee Jimmy.’ The titans, led by Reson and Harriman, seem ready to take the streets...”

is down the street from Henry Kissinger's, which is near Rowland Evans's, not far from Katharine Graham's, report that “Get Carter” is no longer just the title of an old Michael Caine movie. In a column arranged for strings, Reston concluded that poor Carter—and poor Ronald Reagan and poor George Wallace—are sadly misguided in their anti-Washington campaigns:

“Washington is agitated and irritated by all these campaign maneuvers... [Washington] is holding the country together during the political turmoil... the leaders of both parties here are cooperating in the national interest, and concentrating on the things that unite them and have to be done in 1976, rather than on the divisive debates of the candidates, who are vilifying the city they want to take over.”

One of those leaders holding the country together, Senator Humphrey, has made a deal with Senator Henry Jackson, if you believe *Time* magazine—and I do, this time. Hubert will do a little for Scoop—in Florida, he let Jackson use a tape of a laudatory old Humphrey speech in radio commercials—if Scoop will support Hubert if his candidacy collapses. That arrangement made for some interesting doings in Florida, where Carter was going to clobber Wallace, perhaps finishing him off for good, until Jackson suddenly decided to go all out to try to cut Carter's vote. So, given a choice, old liberals Humphrey and Jackson preferred the survival of Wallace, who threatens the country more than he threatens them, to the survival of Carter, who threatens them more than he threatens the country.

Younger liberals, not so protective of the perfection of the nation's capital, have another gripe with Carter: he's a “phony liberal,” or, some think, just a plain phony. I'll leave the first argument for the New York primary—my own estimate is that every time a New York politician says that Carter is not a “real liberal,” the Georgian will gain 50,000 votes somewhere west of the Hudson River.

Is he a phony? Of course he is. He's a politician, an actor, a salesman. What I like is that the product he's peddling is one of the most interesting I've seen in a long time. He's a Southern populist free of the race anchor, something of a 1976 Huey Long outgrowing his origins and repackaging the salable points of his life and public record.

And he is an absolute master at using the same facts to give different impressions to different audiences. When he appeared before the Young Lawyers Section of the Dade County Bar Association in Miami, he was asked about his repeated assertions that he is not a lawyer and the attached implication that lawyers are part of the American problem. “I had to turn what seemed to be a disadvantage into an advantage,” he answered. “Had I been a lawyer, I'd be bragging about it.”

In almost every speech, he recites a little litany of American heroes—“George Washington, Thomas Jefferson...”—and you can always gauge his calculation of a crowd by whether or not he includes Martin Luther King Jr. Usually in Florida he did not; usually in New Hampshire he did.

Is he a liar—this candidate who says, “I don't intend ever to tell you a lie”? He certainly is not lying now. There are 50 reporters trailing him, each waiting to catch a fib. A *New York Times* reporter tried to check out whether Carter was telling the truth when he said he didn't know whether or not his ancestors owned slaves. Sometimes after a question-and-answer session, reporters cluster to give his answers a purity test. His words pass, sometimes just because he uses language well.

Was he a liar? Selby McCash, the statehouse reporter for the Macon, Georgia, newspapers, says, “I doubt if he ever lied directly in his life, but he is willing by omission of information to let certain impressions get picked up. We all do that to some extent, of course, but it may be that Carter is just a little more clever at it.”

Jimmy Carter is clever at a lot of things, bringing both intelligence and cunning to his work. He stood fifty-ninth in his class of 820 at the U.S. Naval Academy before working as a nuclear engineer (he exaggerates that, calling himself a “nuclear physicist”) under Admiral Hyman Rickover, then going back to Plains, a town with one street, to make a half-million dollars or so growing and warehousing peanuts. He also speaks workable Spanish and says he has read four books a week during his noncampaigning life. I was struck by how many national reporters believed he was the smartest politician they had ever covered. That perception was enormously helped, I think, by the performance of Southerners like Senators Ervin and Baker during the Senate Watergate hearings, which made a lot of Northern provincials realize that

a cotton-mouthing accent can be connected to a first-rate mind.

And work? Behind that Huckleberry Finn grin there is a perfectionist campaigning machine that shuts down only 6 hours of every 24. After losing a race for governor in 1966, Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, began four years of traveling Georgia alone, shaking hands and recruiting volunteers—they estimate that together they shook 600,000 hands in four years. Then Carter decided to try the same thing nationally. His right hand was bleeding from scratches the other day as he worked a crowd for a half hour near Tampa.

What made him think he was the one among many? I liked his answer: “I have always looked on the presidency of the United States with reverence and awe, and I still do... During 1971 and 1972 I met Richard Nixon... George McGovern... Hubert Humphrey... Nelson Rockefeller, and other presidential hopefuls, and I lost my feeling of awe about presidents.”

If they could do it, so could he. But he had to figure out how it worked. He volunteered for an honorary job—chairman of the 1974 Democratic National Campaign Committee—and used it to explore and chart political America. Under the guidance of Robert Keefe of the Democratic National Committee, the helpful Georgia governor methodically organized panels of experts to prepare issue papers for congressional candidates and traveled the country to observe campaigns and make friends. What he did—as Keefe, who now manages Scoop Jackson's campaign, later realized—was use the DNC to initiate and finance his own national education and begin setting up a Carter-for-President organization.

“When I am president,” he says now, where even the most egocentric candidates have always said “if.” His sense of destiny is scary. In New Hampshire, when a group of editors pressed him about his sketchy views on foreign policy, he answered, “I'll deal with that in my inaugural.”

Maybe he knows something the rest of us don't. His relationship with Christ is obviously a topic of some discussion among the reporters covering him—uninformed, uncomprehending musings by many Northerners who have trouble dealing with the idea of a highly sophisticated 51-year-old man sounding like the thinking man's Billy Sunday. Perhaps we shall understand when we've known Jimmy Carter for ten years.

CARTER: GENERAL STRATEGY

The Inner Circle Hasn't Changed

The Core of Carter's Campaign

By Jack W. Germond

Washington Star Staff Writer

ATLANTA — In a windowless room on the 24th floor of an office building here the walls are covered with maps and charts that describe the Democratic plot to overthrow the government.

This is the "situation room" of Jimmy Carter's national headquarters, and the maps and charts quantify the strategy he will follow in the eight weeks of the general election campaign.

One chart lists the states, their electoral votes and the "weight" — meaning essentially priority — each has been assigned by the Carter managers. Thus, for example, New York has 41 electoral votes but has been given 48 "points" by the campaign because it is large, Democratic and winnable against Gerald Ford.

Another is a calendar of the weeks until Nov. 2, and, so far as they are known now, the itineraries that will be followed by Carter, vice-presidential nominee Walter Mondale and their wives and children.

AND HUGE MAPS show those same travel schedules for the two weeks ahead, a different colored line assigned to each of the campaigning "units." The Carter line is green, which is the dominant color of the campaign advertising.

Each of the campaigners has been assigned a "weight," too, for scheduling purposes. A "hit" by Carter is worth seven points, one by Mondale five, one by either wife three, or by the children two. Thus, a state entitled to, let us say, 27 points might get two visits by Carter, two by Mondale and one by Rosalynn Carter or Joan Mondale.

There is nothing very remarkable about any of this: All candidates for president plan to use their time in the places and to the extent they think it may yield the greatest reward in electoral votes. But it is unusual, at the least, for any campaign plan to be so precisely designed, perhaps because so few engineers ever are nominated.

What is most intriguing about the Carter plan, however, is that it is clearly a direct descendant of the one the Georgian used in winning the nomination. And it is so because it has the same paternity, the same group of advisers who have been behind Carter all the way from obscurity to his present lead over President Ford.

See CAMPAIGN, A-8

Continued From A-1

AND THIS FLIES in the face of the conventional political wisdom, which has been that, once nominated, Carter would broaden his organization to take advantage of the highly skilled party professionals who usually function in every presidential campaign.

Instead, the roster of more than 310 paid employees of the Carter campaign shows not a single addition of anyone from outside in any position of real influence in the organization.

The inner circle is, as it has been, Charles Kirbo, the politically savvy Atlanta lawyer, campaign director Hamilton Jordan, press secretary Jody Powell, advertising director Gerald Rafshoon, opinion pollster Patrick Caddell, issues director Stu Eizenstat, campaign treasurer Robert Lipshutz, field operations director Tim Kraft and perhaps one or two others. Caddell, who worked for George McGovern four years ago, is the only one with experience in a general election campaign.

Campaign director Jordan's staff shows the same pattern. His deputies include Ben Brown, a black state legislator here; Barbara Blum, who was a lobbyist for environmentalist causes in Georgia; Hugh Carter, a cousin of the candidate, and Pat Derran, a Mississippian of broad experience in liberal and women's movements. Landon Butler, the political director who often functions in Jordan's place, is an Atlanta executive.

POWELL HAS ADDED some professionals to the press operation recently — Walt Wurfel, who worked for Hubert Humphrey four years ago; Jerry Doolittle, a onetime government information officer in Laos; Mary Fifield, who has been press secretary to Massachusetts Gov. Michael J. Dukakis. But his chief assistant, Betty Rainwater, is another Georgian who has been on board the whole way.

Issues director Eizenstat worked for Humphrey in the 1968 campaign, but he is also an Atlanta lawyer.

There are, of course, many people with wide experience among the 300-plus on the payroll now, and there will be others as the payroll grows to 750 or so with the addition of paid workers on the state staffs.

Mary Hoyt, Mrs. Carter's press secretary, did the same for the wives of both Edmund Muskie and McGovern four years ago. Scheduling director Eliot Cutler worked for Muskie, and one of the advance and scheduling coordinators, Tresa Smith, did the same for McGovern.

The campaign trip director, Jim King, is a political veteran who worked for Sen. Edward M. Kennedy. The state campaign manager in California is Terry O'Connell, a high-



STU EIZENSTAT
The issues man



CHARLES KIRBO
The 'politically savvy' lawyer

ly respected young professional who worked earlier this year for Sen. Henry M. Jackson.

And the addition of Mondale has brought with it several leading professionals — Richard Moe, Michael Berman and James Johnson among them.

BUT THE CORE OF the campaign organization is what it has been all along. Carter has decided that what was good enough for the political miracle of his nomination is good enough for defeating an incumbent president.

This does not mean, however, that the Carter operation has not borrowed from the past or adapted techniques from other campaigns to its own.

Eizenstat's issues operation, for example, is similar to that in many campaigns. He has 15 assistants, most of them assigned to specific topics or groups of topics, and they draw on about 15 "task forces" of outside experts for raw material that eventually can be converted into a speech, a statement or a position paper. They are in the process now of producing a briefing book on all issues that will be a basic resource for Carter in preparing for the debates.

Eizenstat says the typical briefing paper product of his group includes several pages of raw facts, a critique of the Ford position on the question plus recommended options for Carter. In preparing a speech, he said, Carter "insists on a wide range of opinions" and the raw data as well. And he frequently consults others in the field not involved in the task force or staff process. The principal speechwriter is Patrick Anderson, a published free-lancer who lives outside Washington.



JODY POWELL
Press secretary



ROBERT LIPSHUTZ
Campaign treasurer

THE FIELD OPERATION directed by Kraft, the young professional from New Mexico who ran Carter's Iowa and Pennsylvania campaigns earlier this year, seems to borrow both from the 1960 Kennedy campaign and the State Department.

Kraft has used the Kennedy technique of assigning out-of-staters as state campaign managers on the theory that using local people brings you their enemies as well as their friends. Thus, Patty Knox, a political veteran from Michigan, is running the Massachusetts operation while a Massachusetts state legislator, Joe Timilty, is in charge in Pennsylvania.

There are 10 regional coordinators, including some of the most successful state operatives from the primaries such as Phil Wise for the South and Chris Brown for the Pacific states. But the state managers report directly to regional "desks" in the Atlanta headquarters under a system similar to that in the State Department. The desks act as a service agency for the state leaders but also collect political intelligence, each of them producing a page or so of notes from the field each day which are synthesized by Scott Burnett, an assistant to Kraft, into a two-page report to Jordan.

THE CAMPAIGN IS also like others in that it has special desks — supervised by deputy director Blum — for such special groups as the aged, Catholics, Jews, women and minorities.

The pay is also like that of other campaigns. Salaries run from \$500 to \$2,000 a month maximum, and Jordan recently ordered a 10 percent cut for everyone over \$600 a month. The total payroll cost is likely to run under \$2 million, or less than 10 percent of the \$22 million in public funds that is available to finance the campaign.

The biggest single slice of the budget, some \$8.5 million at this stage, goes for Rafshoon's advertising operation, and that is likely to be increased before it is all over. Rafshoon has prepared some new five-minute spots, the first of which will be shown on CBS tonight, and new 60-second commercials as well.

L.A. Times July 16



Carter's Signals

Jimmy Carter did not arouse much passion in his long and determined pursuit of the Democratic nomination. Even among his own adherents outside the South, there was little emotional commitment to the Georgian. He won because of amazing organizational skills; because he was willing to work longer and harder than his more prominent rivals; because Plains, Ga., is a better place to be from than Washington, D.C., in such cynical times, and because he was seen as a decent man.

Carter took the Democratic nomination by relentless siege, not by daring assault. Yet, Carter's acceptance speech Thursday night, his choice of Sen. Walter F. Mondale as his running mate, and his dominant role in drafting the blandest of platforms—all are clear signals that he intends to advance on the Presidency with the same careful pragmatism that won him the nomination.

His acceptance speech, designed to reach beyond the convention delegates and the smoky confines of Madison Square Garden to the vastly larger television audience, was written to strike those rhetorical notes he believes are responsive to the current mood of the country: distaste for the inadequacies of government, unhappiness with drift, a longing for stability and confidence and plain talk.

In tone the speech was tinged with populism, but in substance it was moderate and consensus-seeking.

Carter's selection of Mondale is consistent with a theme that disdains the flamboyant in favor of a calmer appeal to the voters. Reserve, deliberateness and persistence also run strongly in the young senator's character.

But Mondale brings more than compatibility to the ticket.

Although he strengthens its liberal credentials, he is not offensive to moderates. Although he brings experience in the federal government to the team, Mondale cannot be identified with the Democratic faction in Washington that is, by Carter's own definition, unresponsive to unmet social priori-

ties. To the contrary, the senator has been in the forefront of those pressing for legislative action to help the poor and the elderly.

Nor can Mondale be identified with the Democratic old guard, Carter's *bete noire* in the primary jungles. Yet, at the same time, the Minnesotan has strong appeal to the traditionalist wing of the party as the protege of Hubert H. Humphrey.

The platform is just as compatible with Carter's understanding of what the majority will accept. It promises neither too much nor too little.

A mandatory national health care plan and welfare and tax reform are among its major commitments, but it avoids the extravagant cost specifics that Republicans could attack, as they did with such devastating effect four years ago when George McGovern fell into the error of specificity.

But the platform also draws the battle lines against the Republicans. It proposes to do what the Democratic majorities in Congress have been unable to do: to override, by a change in administrations, President Ford's many vetoes of Democratic proposals to concentrate on reducing unemployment rather than on anti-inflation controls.

The platform also speaks to political reform, to bureaucratic profligacy, and to greater openness and accountability in government—all consistent with Carter's long-argued positions.

A pragmatic and cautious campaign may or may not carry the day against the Republicans, and Carter may yet decide that a bolder effort, revealing other aspects of his character, is in order.

As a Southerner, he must contend with the reverse provincialism of Northern liberals. As a private and introspective man, he still remains an enigma to vast numbers of Americans—and even to the party that nominated him—despite his sudden and extraordinary rise to prominence.

The one certainty is that the country will want to know him—and understand him—better than it does now.

Atlanta Constitution

June 17

'New Face' and 'Integrity' Carter's Foremost Draws

Atl. Con June 17

BY LOUIS HARRIS

What the American people find most appealing about former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter is that "he is not part of the Washington, D.C. establishment," and that he is a "man of integrity."

However, the public has some doubts about Carter. The most serious is expressed by the 58-23 per cent majority who "worry some about a politician who says, 'I will never lie to you.'"

With the primary season now over, and Carter driving toward a first ballot nomination in next month's Democratic convention, it is instructive to see how the voters look at the man who may well carry his party's banner.

On the positive side:

—A 46-24 per cent plurality admire him for "having the courage not to make promises to get votes." At a time when the electorate has become highly skeptical of the old politics and easy promises, Carter stands out as a candidate who has been very cautious about promising programs that might involve sizable federal spending. The number who praise Carter for his restraint has risen from the 40-25 per cent nationwide who felt that way in April.

—Better than a two-to-one plurality believes that "if he gets the Democratic nomination, he will have done it without being obligated to anyone except the voters, and that is good." The sense that Carter is independent of the usual obligations built up by aspiring candidates could serve him in good stead in the fall campaign.

—By 42-35 per cent, a plurality feels that Jimmy Carter is "the kind of new, fresh face that is needed in the White House." In April, this view was held by a narrow 38-35 per cent.

—By 42-18 per cent, the public also thinks that Carter "feels deeply about less privileged people and genuinely wants to

HARRIS POLL

help them if he becomes President." Among blacks, a 51-15 per cent majority agrees with this assessment, which reflects the continuing Carter appeal to the largest racial minority in the country.

—By 40-22 per cent, a plurality believes that "as President, he would inspire confidence personally in the White House." A 50-19 per cent majority of Democrats share this view.

These figures indicate that Carter is beginning to come through to substantial numbers of the American people as a different type of national figure who can generate much positive support.

However, as he becomes a more familiar face, some of the early negatives that were raised about him linger:

—A 48-26 per cent plurality believes the charge by his primary opponents that "he has ducked taking stands on issues to avoid offending anybody—and that is wrong." This represents an increase from the 42-27 per cent who felt that way in April.

—By 41-24 per cent, a plurality also feels that "underneath that smile, he is a tough and cold-blooded politician." In April, a smaller 36-22 per cent plurality felt that way.

Although it is much discussed, Carter's strongly held religious faith does not appear to be a decisive factor in people's judgments about him. By 32-31 per cent—with 37 per cent unable to express an opinion—most people do not agree with the statement that "he is a deeply religious man, which is very important to me this year in choosing a President."

Charles Bartlett

Carter is moving left for the fall campaign

NEW YORK — Jimmy Carter has not taken most of the jumps in his eagerness to capture the presidential nomination of a united Democratic party.

He did balk at the women who pressured him here to back a rule requiring that half the delegates at the next convention be female. This was not a major balk because the women knew their cause was unrealistic. Only 5 per cent of all city, state and federal elective offices are now held by women, so they have no immediate claim on half the political stage.

But Carter has taken a huge jump in espousing the \$18 billion federal package with which the nation's mayors aspire to relieve the fiscal plight of their cities. The diminished lustre of urban causes kept the cities out of most of the political dialogue of 1972 and Carter's willingness to take up the mayors' campaign is bringing them into his corner with enthusiasm.

A fervent enthusiast is New York's Mayor Abe Beame, whose misery under the restraints of his federal creditors is undisguised. A more generous deal with a Democratic President would ease the pressure and Beame is wholly persuaded that Carter will make that deal. In a campaign in which Republi-

cans will warn that the nation will wind up like New York unless Congress mends its fiscal ways, Carter is ready to stick with New York.

Carter campaigned in the primaries as a figure somewhat to the right of the party's mainstream. But he is now hurrying to enlist as a consensus Democrat. This means all-out for Israel, a readiness to risk inflation to create jobs, and down-the-line support for national health insurance and welfare reform. He has been describing himself as liberal on human rights and a fiscal conservative. The pre-convention processing has left him a liberal Democrat.

Carter's aides talk now of "the problem," which is their pollster's perception that many Democrats are wary of him. The problem is not, in their judgment, a matter of being disliked by Catholics, Jews or other specific groups because he is a Southern Baptist. Instead they ascribe the wariness to the fact that many became aware of the candidate in the climatic phase of the primaries when he was moving too fast to display his personal qualities.

If this assessment is right, the solution does not lie in the choice of a vice-presidential candidate. What Carter needs are

demonstrations of personal rapport to fill out his image. Some of this can be accomplished on television — cozy, five-minute interviews from his den at home. Private interviews and press conferences in a serene Georgia setting will give him other opportunities to show grace under pressure.

The fuzziness complaint will fade as it becomes apparent that he means to campaign as a liberal Democrat. He will be forgiven for his refusal to take clear stands on right to work or abortion after he begins to mouth the orthodox Democrat positions.

Like the delegates, Carter is slightly lost in this huge city. He is certainly stirring nothing like the excitement that burst upon Queen Elizabeth here last week. Small crowds stand behind the barricades and cheer when he leaves his hotel. But they are not jamming the streets or tearing down the barricades. A politician has to look really Presidential before New Yorkers get excited.

Democrats react to familiar issues mouthed by a candidate who embraces their consensus positions. Like many nominees before him, Carter went to the right to get nominated. Now he needs to go to the left to get elected and that is how he is positioning himself.

Joseph Kraft

Winning the Election: Themes Vs. Issues

Though the cheers and huzzahs of the New York convention are still ringing in his ears, Jimmy Carter faces a crucial question of political strategy. The question is whether to make the presidential race a campaign of themes or a campaign of issues.

The temptation is to stick with the thematic emphasis which won the nomination for Mr. Carter. But President Ford, whom he will almost certainly face in the general election, is a far more formidable foe than seems generally imagined, and much less vulnerable to a campaign on themes than to a campaign on the issues.

The thematic campaign, which Mr. Carter and his aides acknowledge they used to win the nomination, emphasizes personal qualities rather than public causes. Thus, in his speeches and advertisements, Mr. Carter tried to show that he was a good man, an hon-

“As President, he has no recognition problem. More important, for all his bumbling, he commands high personal repute.”

est man and a strong man. He addressed issues only when questioned by reporters or the public.

That approach worked brilliantly in the primary campaign—in part because Mr. Carter's opponents were not all that well known, and in part because their emphasis on the issues turned out to be boring, but President Ford is something else again.

As President he has no name recognition problem. More important, for all his bumbling, he commands high personal repute. All the polls show that the American people believe Mr. Ford to be a man of honesty and integrity. Not even the pardon of President Nixon, which Sen. Mondale cited in his speech accepting nomination as Carter's running-mate and which we will no doubt be hearing more of in the campaign, is apt to tarnish the impression of the President as a basically decent man.

Nor is an assault on John Connally, the former Texas governor and Secretary of the Treasury, whom Mr. Ford is likely to choose as his running-mate. To be sure, the indictment of Mr. Connally in connection with bribes taken from dairy producers leaves him—as the say-

ing goes—with “milk on his hands.” But that stain can be washed almost clean by the statements made on behalf of Gov. Connally by Congresswoman Barbara Jordan, not to mention the Democratic national chairman, Robert Strauss.

If character is Mr. Ford's strong point, however, his weakness is job performance. A large number of Americans think he simply doesn't have the brains to run the country. The latest Gallup Poll shows that he gets 45 per cent approval. That compares with 59 per cent for President Nixon at a similar stage in 1972; with 74 per cent for President Johnson in 1964 and with 69 per cent for President Eisenhower in 1953.

To be sure, Mr. Ford has the economy going for him. Unemployment is going down, and so is inflation. Though the administration's chief contribution was to do nothing. The President will undoubtedly claim credit.

Moreover, it seems certain that once he has beaten Gov. Reagan, Mr. Ford will go back into action on the foreign policy front. An arms control deal with the Russians seems not at all unlikely.

For all these reasons the Democrats need to challenge the administration sharply on domestic issues. Unemployment is the obvious example, since it affects worst most of the biggest states—California, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts.

Economic inequality is a second good target. For it unites Mr. Carter's followers in both North and South.

Welfare reform, aid to cities, health insurance and tax reform are also obvious issues. The Republicans have done almost nothing to beat these problems, nor will they do much as long as Mr. Ford remains in office.

Finally there is the matter of making the federal government work. It is not easy when there is a Democratic Congress and a Republican President. The less so when the Republican President, instead of trying to cooperate, paints himself up as Harry Truman and makes a point of picking fights with the Congress.

In emphasizing these issues, to be sure, Messrs. Carter and Mondale would offend some voters. But the injured parties would be mainly Republicans anyhow. Democratic votes would tend to be solidified. To me that tradeoff makes sense. It seems better, in other words, to go for 51 per cent plus of the votes that an issues campaign can virtually assure than for the nearly 100 per cent that would be the goal of an inoffensive thematic campaign.

Fred -
This is good.
-Booth

Washington Star
June 21



Challenge Left to Carter: Step Lightly, Look Carefully

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

ATLANTA — When someone suggested to Jimmy Carter the other day that the key to the November election might be simply whether he makes a serious mistake during the campaign, he nodded soberly and replied: "I know that." Then he grinned broadly and repeated with more emphasis: "I know."

The response seemed to reflect with mirror accuracy the mood of the Carter camp as it looks ahead to the general election campaign, a mood that perhaps can be best described as cautious and aware confidence.

That confidence is based in large measure on the almost unanimous finding of opinion surveys, both public and private, that Carter hold comfortable leads over both President Ford and Ronald Reagan and thus would be favored to defeat either one.

AND, USING THEIR OWN polls made by Patrick Caddell, the Carter managers have begun translating the raw figures into potential electoral votes. The bottom line in every computation seems to be that there is no way Carter can lose to either Ford or Reagan — unless he makes that serious mistake somewhere along the way.

Carter is ideally positioned to see that this does not happen. The collapse of his opposition after the Ohio primary has given him a month before his own convention and two months before the Republicans will settle on a candidate to get his ducks in a row. Moreover, he can look ahead to opposition that almost surely will be divided and embittered.

Indeed, no presidential candidate representing a party out of power has been able to enter a general election campaign in such a dominant position since Thomas E. Dewey ran against Harry S. Truman in 1948.

There are, however, questions about the Carter campaign that must be answered over the next 120 days, and those answers are likely to determine who wins the presidency Nov. 2.

THE MOST BASIC is simply whether Carter can defeat a Republican with the same campaign approach he used in defeating a dozen other Democrats along the way to the nomination.

In his remarkable march through the primaries Carter relied on what became known as a "thematic approach" — meaning that rather than rely on specific programs or proposals, he presented himself as a different kind of politician offering at least the hope of a genuinely fresh concept of national leadership if he became president.

This has been successful for two reasons.

First, there have been no issues of overriding concern to the primary electorate, either practically or emotionally. There has been no genuine preoccupation with anything as volatile as the war in Vietnam or race or crime in the streets.

Secondly, it is now apparent — at least in retrospect — that to the extent issues were involved, there were few basic differences between Carter and the other Democrats who competed along the way. It is true that Carter has been unwilling to go as far as, for example, Morris K. Udall on such issues as health insurance, public employment policy and the fate of the oil companies. But the differences have been largely those of degree, rather than direction. Carter does favor a national health insurance system; he is just not willing to support one now that would be totally operated by the federal government.

CARTER'S TECHNIQUE was demonstrated here again Saturday when he answered questions from a panel of leaders of the National Education Association for a television film that will be shown at their convention. Carter took note of NEA's demand for greater federal funding of

education and pointed out it would require \$18 billion to \$20 billion a year to achieve.

"I think that is a good goal but I can't say when it ought to be done," he told the NEA officials.

When pressed, he refused to give them a figure but promised "I'll be committed along with you to a substantial increase."

It was not everything the teachers' group wanted but it did position Carter on the side of the angels from their viewpoint.

In the general election campaign, however, there will be real differences between the presidential candidates, whether the Republican nominee is Ford or Reagan. It is no secret that either Republican will try to force Carter to the left on such questions as busing and welfare and crime in an attempt to portray him as a latter-day George McGovern. And there will be obvious pressure on Carter not to abandon his basic Democratic constituency by making a me-too response.

THE TRICK for the Democratic candidate will be to keep the faith without giving the Republicans an opening, particularly to the blue-collar Democrats who deserted to the Republican line in such numbers four years ago.

Carter will seek to avoid such a situation by trying to set an agenda for the campaign before the Republicans settle on a nominee. He plans a series of speeches that, taken together, will claim to be the issues on which the campaign should be based. How successful that approach will be depends, of course, on who wins the Republican nomination.

Carter and most of his advisers seem to consider Ford the more formidable opponent. This is based to some extent on the advantages any incumbent president enjoys. But it is based even more on Caddell's finding that Reagan is extraordinarily weak in big industrial states — meaning that his strength in terms of electoral votes is even less than that reflected in national opinion polls.

If Carter can be sure of capturing almost all of the South, and few quarrel with that, neither Republican can win without taking several of the major industrial states of the Midwest and Northeast.

EVEN IF REAGAN were conceded the entire Far West, including California, and were able to add to that Texas, Florida, Indiana, Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Virginia, he would end up with only 175 electoral votes, or 95 short of the required 270. And that scenario requires a lot of "even if."

Ford's problem is somewhat different. He would be given a better chance to win in some of the major Northern states — Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania, for example — but he would be rated far less capable of defeating Carter in Texas and Florida or of sweeping the Far West.

Reagan, however, represents a different kind of a threat to the Democrat from Georgia. Ford is a level quantity in national politics — known, measured, lacking the potential to either excite great zeal or to outrage the electorate. Reagan is a different dynamic, a provocative campaigner not yet so well perceived by voters everywhere and possessed of the potential for political peaks and valleys.

THIS COULD MEAN disaster for Reagan if, for instance, he frightened the electorate with saber-rattling on foreign policy. But it could mean, as well, that

he might bring heavier pressure on Carter on the emotional issues such as busing, crime and welfare. At this point few Democrats see how this could make enough difference to make Reagan a threat in Ohio or Pennsylvania or Illinois or New York — unless, of course, Carter made that serious mistake in reacting to Reagan.

The best defense is Carter's well demonstrated natural shrewdness and caution. But the Democratic leader is making plans, too, to broaden his campaign to put more lines into more of the elements of the Democratic party.

Carter and his advisers held a series of planning meetings last week that dealt largely with campaign mechanics. They talked about things as diverse as the method for selecting a vice presidential nominee and whether the campaign airplane should be configured with first class or tourist class seating.

BUT THEY ALSO approached at least some tentative decisions on strengthening their organization before the fall. The inner circle will remain unchanged — meaning Hamilton Jordan, Jody Powell, Charles Kirbo, Robert Lifshutz, Gerald Ralshoon, Morris Dees, Peter Bourne, and Caddell and a few others.

But another layer of professionals is likely to be added to give the campaign contacts where it has lacked them so far. One example: The Carter managers are now negotiating with Robert Keefe, Henry Jackson's campaign manager and a former executive director of the Democratic National Committee who has a wide range of association with both party regulars and the leaders of organized labor.

Other Democratic professionals will be sought out for advice on strategy without being brought into formal roles in the campaign. One possibility in this category is Fred Dutton, an old Kennedy hand with an unquenchable visceral feel for campaigns.

In the end, however, Carter's fate against the Republicans will depend on his own ability to pick his way through the tricky currents of the general election as well as he did through those of the primaries.

Background

What Kind of Governor Was Jimmy Carter?

Jimmy Carter was Governor of Georgia from 1971 to 1975. His record in office is likely to be a more notable issue in the general election than it was in the primaries, now that he is no longer an unknown quantity. Two members of the Georgia House of Representatives give their views of that record. Mr. Beckham is an Augusta Republican. Mr. Horton is an Atlanta Democrat.

By Bob Beckham

The ironies of Jimmy Carter are endless. For a Georgian, perhaps the biggest irony is that Carter could not have won reelection as Governor, if state law had allowed him to try for a second term in 1974.

As Governor, Carter's support for other candidates made them almost certain losers.

In 1972 and 1974, his clear favorites for a U.S. Senate seat and the Governor's office were soundly beaten despite well-heeled campaign war chests. Had Georgia's presidential primary come earlier this year, before Carter ran well in other states, he likely would have been embarrassed on his home turf.

Carter's people call his rise a "miracle." If the triumph of image over issues is a miracle, Carter qualifies. "Miracle" is one of the many buzz words Carter has used to make this election a battle of symbols rather than substance. His forte is glittering generalities, like trust, love, decency.

Consistently, Carter dances away from firm positions. Polls taken by the Washington Post and the Reagan campaign show the same peculiar result: Carter backers who have conflicting views on issues like busing and abortion believe he agrees with them, not the other side. That is the real miracle of Jimmy Carter.

His record as Georgia's Governor is less than miraculous.

It deserves close scrutiny since he promises a federal reorganization patterned on what he did in Georgia.

Carter's reorganization showpiece was the Department of Human Resources, a conglomeration of health, social service, and miscellaneous programs. A few months after Carter left office, Department of Human Resources officials acknowledged to reporters for the Atlanta Constitution that 45 per cent of all Georgia welfare cases contained some error or fraud.

Just this June, Governor George Busbee told a group of Georgia mayors that when he took over from Carter, the Department of Human Resources was "an organizational nightmare." Twice, the Georgia legislature has authorized Busbee to revamp Carter's bureaucratic monster.

During the summer of 1975, while Carter was writing the autobiography that claims he left a \$290 million state surplus, the legislature was in special session to make \$125 million in budget cuts to avoid a deficit. Carter had been gone only six months.

The last budget before Carter took office as Governor was roughly \$1.63 billion. Four years later, his final budget was about \$1.69 billion, an increase of 60 per cent.

State Merit System reports show state employment rising 34 per cent under Carter. Earlier this year, State Auditor Ernest Davis said he had never been able to identify any savings achieved by Carter's reorganization, despite boasts coming from the Carter campaign.

The big-spending promises of the Democratic platform, now warmly embraced by Carter, contrast sharply with his anti-Washington tone during the primaries.

Make-work jobs provided by the government. Welfare reform that amounts to a retreat of McGovern's old guaranteed income plan.

Right-to-strike for public employees. Ban of right-to-work laws, which Carter protected as Governor but now promises to help repeal.

Federal economic controls, massive new aid for cities, national health insurance.

In short, it's the same old Great Society formula that brought our economy to the brink of depression—spend, spend, spend. The very formula Carter criticized through the primaries.

When Carter ran for governor in 1970, he called himself a conservative and claimed political kinship with George Wallace. Now he picks as his running mate Walter Mondale, the Senate's leading defender of busing and a staunch advocate of the big-spending, big-government tradition. Incredibly, Carter and Mondale are telling us they agree on everything.

What does Jimmy Carter really stand for? No one knows, maybe not even Carter. We've got to take a huge risk to find out. Like the Pied Piper, Carter must persuade the voters to listen to his sweet song, and not care where it leads us.

WHAT KIND OF GOVERNOR WAS JIMMY CARTER?

By Gerald Horton

The governorship of Jimmy Carter in Georgia was much more successful and positive than his critics would have you believe. And substantially less than Carter likes to remember and talk about. An example is the reorganization of Georgia's executive branch.

Some of Carter's home state legislators have it that the reorganization of state government in Georgia has been a disaster. They cite the problems of one department—Human Resources—with runaway Medicaid costs and an unwieldy administrative structure as characteristic of the reorganization. This is simply not true. Overall management of the consolidated departments, such as Natural Resources and Administrative Services, is better. Costs are much more under control and budgetary adjustments necessary to meet state revenue shortfalls of the last two years were possible because of the better management. As to the problems of Medicaid in the Department of Human Resources, they have plagued all the states.

It was a good time to be Governor of Georgia. Prosperity ran high with concurrent revenue surpluses. The hard decisions on where to cut expenditures and to curtail programs were in the future for his successor. Carter's pleasant task was to propose new programs and budget increased expenditures, and he did that well. In a flush economy, teacher pay raises, the purchase of historical and sensitive areas, the construction of community-based mental health centers were sound proposals, with which the legislature agreed.

Because of those good times, it is hard to judge whether or not Carter's often touted "zero-based budgeting system" has much to do with expenditure patterns. Experience in program cutting in Georgia during the last two years suggests zero-based budgeting is a useful tool, but not infallible. Department heads (and a governor) still can justify programs they wish to maintain and cut loose without a comforting word those they had just as soon let die.

On environmental issues, a special interest of mine, Carter points with justifiable pride to his moratorium on sewer connections in the north Georgia mountains, which slowed potentially destructive second home development. He also did battle with the U.S. Corps of Engineers over the Sprewell Bluff dam, saving one of our free-running rivers.

But systematic, institutional environmental protection through land use planning and regulations and the designation of environmentally sensitive areas as had been done in Florida, Minnesota and Oregon did not capture Carter's interest or obtain his support.

Though his administration won some individual battles for environmental protection, Carter did not institute or support a system of regulation that was to continue after his governorship.

Carter often describes himself as a planner. On the plus side, his administration instituted and organizationally structured planning as part of the budgetary process in an Office of Planning and Budget, responsible directly to the Governor.

Paradoxically, he paid little attention to regional planning. Though he had been chairman of a regional planning agency in north Georgia and founder of the Georgia Planning Association, he did not lend his support to strengthening Georgia's 13 area and planning development commissions. In fact, he did not designate them to conduct federally-required regional water resource planning, which he alone had authority to do.

In the area of consumer protection, Carter proposed sweeping legislation and then failed to push it or to divide his comprehensive bill into pieces that would pass the legislature.

He did not give up his principle, but Georgia citizens had to wait until the next administration for specific relief from some abuses.

Carter was a good governor for Georgia in good times. Some of his accomplishments (for which he gives the legislature little credit, though it passed them into law), such as judicial reform and reorganization, will be long lasting and, perhaps, even historic. Others, such as zero-based budgeting, may be more sound than light. Finally, some of his individual environmental battles, both won and lost, are gone and largely forgotten.

Carter on Foreign Policy

In the third of a series of conversations with Jimmy Carter in Plains, Ga., Harry Reasoner (ABC) spoke with Carter about foreign policy.

Reasoner: Turning to foreign affairs. You had your briefing from George Bush, not Henry Kissinger. And some people thought that when you referred to a Lone Ranger kind of foreign policy, you might possibly have meant Henry Kissinger. Do you disapprove of him in some manner, sir?

Carter: Yes. I think Secretary Kissinger is a brilliant man and a good negotiator, and has a good sense of humor. I like him personally. The thing I don't like about Henry Kissinger is that... I don't believe he trusts the American people -- our judgment, our common sense -- I don't think he has a deep commitment to the high moral character of the people to be mirrored in what our country is. He's much too inclined to act secretly, excluding us from participation in the decision-making process, and that includes the Congress as well. Secretary Kissinger has been inclined to establish his own reputation with highly-publicized and sometimes non-productive trips -- to Peking, seven or eight times, to Moscow, five or six times -- he's made decisions that affect our natural allies and trends, those in Europe, this hemisphere, Japan, without adequate prior consultation. Only recently has he shown any interest in the developing nations of the world. Those are some of the criticisms that I have of him. He's responded to some of my foreign policy speeches by saying that he can't see any substantial difference between my attitude and that of himself, which is kind of a compliment to me. But there are some differences, primarily in getting the American people and the Congress to form a much better informed and a much more bipartisan nature of support for what our country is and what we do in relationships with other nations.

Reasoner: What would be some differences between a Carter foreign policy and a Kissinger foreign policy apart from the form.

Carter: I would strengthen the relationship among European countries in the NATO area. I think Secretary Kissinger has been inclined to treat those nations as individuals and to discourage their closer corolation. I think a strong Europe -- militarily, economically, and politically -- would be to our own advantage. I would have a much greater emphasis on torn relationships that exist between our country and Canada, our country and Mexico, our country and other nations of Central and South America. I think we need to have a much more comprehensive approach to the problems of mutual defense. We've not reassessed now our relative contributions to NATO since I believe 1967. And there's been a



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tremendous technological improvement in weapon systems since that time. I think we need a reassurance given the Japanese before we make any major immediate decision that relates to the Peoples Republic of China or shipment of crucial element or commodities to Japan like soybeans or coal, that we ought to consult with them. So, those are some of the things that would be changed. I would be inclined towards friendship with the Soviet Union, with the people of the Republic of China. I think that friendship ought to be based on strength. I would never yield, in any way, the full responsibility that would fall on my shoulder, which is the most important of all to have a nation strong enough in its defense capability to guarantee the security of our country.

Reasoner: Secretary Kissinger wrote recently began a new quite different American policy in Africa. Would you approve of that policy of a stronger alliance with Black Africa?

Carter: I believe so. I think this was brought about, belatedly, by the abject failure of the Kissinger-Ford-Nixon policy for instance in Angola. We were faced with a realization there to the Portuguese left Angola that we had no policy that related directly with the people of that nation. We suffered because of it in that the Soviet Union and Cuba had replaced us completely as a friend to the Angolan people and I think in the aftermath of that... which is brought about primarily by secrecy and the lack of planning, and the lack of consideration of the needs of the natives of Angola. We suffered. And in the analysis of that suffering, or that mistake, I think Mr. Kissinger has moved in that direction.

Carter Repeats Warnings of GOP Attacks

Jimmy Carter told the National Democratic Campaign Steering Committee Wednesday in Washington that he expects the Republicans to launch personal attacks on himself and Sen. Mondale.

Reporters asked Carter what made him sure of these expected attacks. Carter said (on ABC film): "They've begun to send out, the Republican National Committee, has all the adverse comments that has been made, that's unconfirmed or been published in the news to country newspapers and radio stations and I've noticed the delegates for President Ford in the Congress and otherwise have been making speeches lately about me personally."

Carter drew a distinction between the anticipated personal attacks and his own blasts at President Ford. Carter said (on CBS film): "I reserve the right at any time to point out the failures of a person in public office, an absence in leadership, a disharmony between the White House and the Congress, a lack of purpose. Those are analyses of the political and leadership inadequacies of the administration, they are not a personal attack on President Ford. I've never said anything in my life that was to be construed as a personal attack on President Ford."

Carter said he did not know of any skeletons in the Carter closet that could be unearthed by Republican researchers. Asked if he really thought the Republicans would "get dirty" about it, as one reporter put it, Carter said (on ABC/CBS film): "I hope not. That's my concern but I think we can withstand it OK."

Sam Donaldson said the Republican National Committee has been sending the material. The packet comes with a cover letter saying, "We feel that these will add to your understanding of Jimmy Carter." "In large part, the material does consist of unverified news stories. Some of them bearing lurid headlines that may or may not reflect the full truth of the matter."

"Forestalling complacency among his supporters may be obviously one of the reasons for Carter's predictions that Carter and Mondale privately told Democrats not to lash back at the Republican assaults, Ed Rabel (CBS) reported.

Republicans will fight dirty. But there's also one other reason. The Carter camp has successfully employed the same technique before, of issuing dire warnings about expected opposition tactics, then when the opposition does mount an attack, even if that attack doesn't quite live up to the horror of the warnings, Carter is in a position to blunt it by saying, 'I told you so.' AP,UPI,ABC,CBS -- (8/4/76)

Carter Calls His Criticism of Ford Factual

Jimmy Carter said Tuesday night that his criticism of President Ford was factual and did not constitute the type of personal attack the Republicans are planning against him.

Arriving in Washington after a campaign trip to New Hampshire, Carter said (on CBS film): "The Republicans have already begun to send out collections of critical newspaper clippings. They've had Sen. Dole and others begin to make very strong statements about my stands on the issues. And I think my prediction is accurate, but, as I pointed out, the thrust of it, in my opinion won't come until after the convention's over."

Carter attended two fundraisers in Washington Tuesday night. Despite his campaign, which has continually called for open meetings, the first fundraiser for donors of \$1,000 or more was closed to the press, Bruce Hall (CBS) reported. Following media complaints, a later reception for members of the entertainment industry was open to the press. CBS Morn. News -- (8/4/76)

Carter to Campaign by Train

Robert Strauss, Chairman of the Democratic Party, said Wednesday that Jimmy Carter has suggested the idea of a cross-country campaign trip by train. Strauss added, "We're going to give him a train ride or bust ourselves trying. We don't know where we're going or when we're going, but we're going." NBC -- (8/4/76)

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League of Women Voters Calls for Presidential Debates

The League of Women Voters is trying to collect a list of four million signatures in favor of presidential debates this fall, CBS reported Wednesday.

Carter has said he generally favors that idea, but has not promised to debate. CBS Morn. News -- (8/4/76)

Carter Would Be Better President

By MARK ANDREWS

Metropolitan-area residents interviewed by The Daily News Opinion Poll think at Jimmy Carter would make a better President than either Gerald Ford or Ronald Reagan.

Carter's margin over Ford was right, partly because more than a third of those polled said they didn't know what kind of President the Democratic nominee would make.

Reagan Unpopular
Reagan was clearly the loser in the three-way popularity contest. More than one third of those polled said they thought he would make a "poor" President. The poll, taken July 12, 13 and

14, was a random telephone sampling of 539 adults in the city, northern New Jersey, and Westchester, Rockland, Nassau and Suffolk counties. Richard F. Link of Artronic Information Systems Inc. was consultant.

Those interviewed were asked: "What kind of President do you think Jimmy Carter would make?" The answers were:

Very good	7%
Good	24%

Fair	23%
Poor	10%
Don't know	36%

Respondents also were asked: "What kind of President do you think Gerald Ford would make if elected to a full term? The replies were:

Very good	4%
Good	25%
Fair	37%
Poor	27%

Don't know 7%
To the question, "What kind of President do you think Ronald Reagan would make?" The response was:

Very good	5%
Good	17%
Fair	24%
Poor	37%
Don't know	17%

Carter received support across the political spectrum, being called either a "very good" or a "good" choice by 34% of the conservatives, 32% of the moderates and 33% of the liberals interviewed.

Ford got "very good" or "good" ratings from 39% of the conservatives, 25% of the moderates and 13% of the liberals polled.

Reagan was called a "very good" or "good" choice by 31% of the conservatives, 18% of the moderates and 9% of the liberals questioned.

Jimmy Carter on Justice

GOV. JIMMY CARTER'S speech to the American Bar Association last week raised more questions than it answered. He talked to the nation's lawyers about the need "to achieve a higher standard of freedom, equality and justice" and threw out a long list of changes in the law he would like to see made. But the details of few of those changes were in his speech, and he must, sooner or later, begin to flesh out the goals of which he speaks. The quality of law turns more on such details than it does on broad statements of principle.

For example, the Democratic candidate said that "all federal judges, diplomats and other major officials should be selected on a strict basis of merit." That is a goal with which few will disagree, at least in public. But who decides what is "merit" and how does a President overcome the role of senatorial courtesy in the appointment of judges? Again, Gov. Carter said that the Attorney General should be removed from politics "as much as is humanly possible" and enjoy the same "independence and authority and deserve as much confidence as did the special prosecutor" in the Watergate investigation. But how is this to be achieved?

Some of the governor's advisers have suggested that what he has in mind is the creation of citizen commissions to recommend judicial candidates and the transformation of the Department of Justice into a quasi-independent agency with the Attorney General appointed to a fixed four-year term from which he could not be removed without cause. If this is what the governor has in mind, he should say so. The

former may be an idea that could be used as successfully in Washington as Gov. Carter used it in Atlanta, but the latter is a fundamental change in the structure of government that deserves long and careful consideration.

It is true that Mr. Carter dealt with some specifics. He does not think a permanent special prosecutor's office should be created. He believes the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration has spent much too little of its money aiding the judicial system. He wants public financing of political campaigns extended to congressional elections. He opposes as far too weak the Ford administration's bill requiring only reports to the Commerce Department of questionable payments made abroad by American corporations. But he needs to tell us more about how the activities of lobbyists can be controlled, how he would provide "minimum secrecy within government... matched with maximum privacy for private citizens," what kind of government-in-the-sunshine law he favors, and how he will end "the sweetheart arrangement between regulatory agencies and industries being regulated."

Running through this speech are themes that have marked Mr. Carter's early campaigning—a desire to reduce substantially the role of special interest groups in forming government policy and to increase substantially the ethical standards under which government operates. The themes are appealing; they might become more so with more substance attached to them.

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