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Tony:

How's this for a cast of "energy" experts.

A friendly columnist should be able to have fun with it.

Carter
Vulnush

July 22

Administration of Jimmy Carter, 1980

tip of the Aleutian Chain. Base personnel reduced gasoline consumption by nearly 25 percent between April 1, 1979, and March 31, 1980, over the previous year. They are walking more, consolidating trips when they must drive, and becoming accustomed to the fact that energy efficiency is not a temporary goal but a way of life on tiny Shemya Island.

Southern New England Telephone Co., Hartford, Conn. Southern New England Telephone Co. has been promoting alternate means of commuting since 1971, and the effort has paid off: Thirty-seven percent of its employees now use public transit, carpools, and vanpools.

Texas Medical Center, Houston, Tex. More than 40,000 people work at the Texas Medical Center, a complex which houses a number of different medical facilities. A multiemployer transportation program was begun there in June of 1978, promoting vanpooling, providing a carpool matching program by computer, supplying discounts for public transit passes, and taking other steps to assure easy access to the formerly congested, crowded parking facilities and roadways serving the center.

3M Company, St. Paul, Minn. Largely through the efforts of 3M senior transportation engineer Robert D. Owens, the company's model vanpooling program has grown from 6 vans in 1973 to 135 vans currently in operation. Owens is regarded as the "father of vanpooling," and his work in conjunction with 3M has revolutionized commuter transportation worldwide.

Truck and Bus Fuel Economy Advisory Committee, Society of Automotive Engineers, Euclid, Ohio. Made up of 40 individuals from the truck and bus manufacturing industry, the committee develops fuel-economy test procedures for new devices and concepts.

President's Council for Energy Efficiency

Appointment of the Membership.
July 22, 1980

The President today announced the appointment of the President's Council for Energy Efficiency. Members of the Council will serve in an honorary capacity. They will help encourage citizen participation in the national effort to achieve greater energy efficiency. The President's Council is one component of an overall Federal program to involve individual Americans in low-cost and no-cost energy conservation efforts at home, on the road, and on the farm.

The President announced the formation of the Council on April 29, 1980. The members appointed today are:

- ✓ ANSEL ADAMS, of Carmel, Calif., photographer;
- EDWARD AVILA, of Washington, D.C., executive director of the National Association of Elected Officials;
- JOSE BAHAMONDE, of Miami, television producer;
- ✓ BOBBY BARE, of Hendersonville, Tenn., country singer;
- WILLIAM BEEBE, of Atlanta, chairman of the board, Delta Airlines;
- ✓ ERMA BOMBECK, of Paradise Valley, Ariz., humorist and author;
- DAVID BURWELL, of Washington, D.C., assistant director of public works, National Wildlife Federation;
- WILLIAM CLINTON, of Fayetteville, Ark., Governor of Arkansas;
- SAM CHURCH, JR., of Washington, D.C., president of the United Mine Workers;
- ROBERT S. COLODZIN, of Stamford, Conn., vice president, Champion International Corp.;
- JAMES D. CRAIG, of Northeaston, Mass., Olympic gold medalist;
- JAMES B. CREAL, of Arlington, Va., president, American Automobile Association;
- ANDRAE CROUCH, of Woodland Hills, Calif., gospel singer;
- ✓ PAM DAWBER, of Los Angeles, actress;

- JAMES PORTER DEAN, of Alcorn County, Miss., chairman, National Internal Affairs Committee, the American Legion;
- CHARLES J. DI BONA, of Washington, D.C., president, American Petroleum Institute;
- ✓ KIRK DOUGLAS, of Beverly Hills, Calif., actor;
- ✓ ERIK ESTRADA, of Studio City, Calif., actor;
- WILLIAM C. FRANCE, of Daytona Beach, Fla., president, National Association of Stock Car Auto Racing, Inc.;
- DONALD C. FRISBEE, of Portland, Oreg., chairman, Pacific Power and Light Co.;
- JOSEPH GARRAHY, of Narragansett, R.I., Governor of Rhode Island;
- JOSE GOMEZ, of Washington, D.C., chairman, National Economic Development Association;
- MARGARET L. GOVER, of Albuquerque, N. Mex., project director, Americans for Indian Opportunity;
- ✓ ROOSEVELT GRIER, of Los Angeles, former football player;
- ✓ EARL HINES, of Oakland, Calif., jazz musician;
- ✓ DON HO, of Kailua, Hawaii, entertainer;
- C. C. HOPE, JR., of Charlotte, N.C., president, American Bankers Association;
- MAYNARD JACKSON, of Atlanta, Ga., mayor of Atlanta;
- JOHN H. JOHNSON, of Chicago, Ill., publisher;
- OLAF J. KAASA, of Washington, D.C., president, American Association of Retired Persons;
- ROBERT P. KEIM, of New York City, president, the Advertising Council;
- ROBERT KIRBY, of Pittsburgh, Pa., chairman of the board, Westinghouse Electric Corp.;
- LANE KIRKLAND, of Washington, D.C., president, AFL-CIO;
- GEORGE LATIMER, of St. Paul, Minn., mayor of St. Paul;
- DAVID LEVINSON, of Middletown, Del., president, Levinson Corp.;
- ARTHUR LEVITT, JR., of New York City, chairman, American Stock Exchange;
- ✓ NANCY LOPEZ, of Mason, Ohio, professional golfer;
- JAMES LOW, of Washington, D.C., president, American Society of Association Executives;
- ALBERT L. McDERMOTT, of Washington, D.C., Washington representative, American Hotel and Motel Association;
- MARSHALL McDONALD, of Miami, Fla., chairman of the board, Florida Power and Light Co.;
- SANFORD NOYES McDONNELL, of St. Louis, Mo., president, McDonnell Douglas Corp.;
- ✓ MARY TYLER MOORE, of Los Angeles, Calif., actress;
- ROBERT PARTRIDGE, of Washington, D.C., general manager, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association;
- ✓ LINUS PAULING, of Portola Valley, Calif., scientist;
- MARTHA V. PENNING, of Vienna, Va., Fairfax County (Virginia) supervisor;
- TIMATHA S. PIERCE, of New York City, president, American Women in Television and Radio;
- MARY ELIZABETH POWERS, of New York City, senior editor for consumer affairs, Good Housekeeping magazine;
- ✓ LEONTYNE PRICE, of New York City, opera singer;
- DAN RANKOW, of Coral Gables, Fla., secretary-general, Jaycees International;
- WILLIAM KANE REILLY, of Washington, D.C., president, Conservation Foundation;
- ✓ BURT REYNOLDS, of Jupiter, Fla., actor;
- CHARLES McKINLEY REYNOLDS, JR., of Virginia Beach, Va., president, National Bankers Association;
- DAVID M. RODERICK, of Pittsburgh, Pa., chairman, United States Steel Corp.;
- CHARLES T. ROYER, of Seattle, Wash., mayor of Seattle;
- WILLIAM RUDER, of New York City, president, Ruder and Finn;
- HARVEY RUVIN, of Miami Beach, Fla., Dade County commissioner;
- DR. JONAS SALK, of La Jolla, Calif., scientist;
- ✓ NEIL SIMON, of Los Angeles, Calif., playwright;
- STEPHEN STILLS, of Beverly Hills, Calif., singer;
- DR. GEORGE C. SZEGO, of Warrenton, Va., president, Intertechnology Corp. and Solar Corp. of America;
- ✓ CHERYL TIEGS, of Los Angeles, Calif., model;
- WILLIAM D. TOOHEY, of Washington, D.C., president, Travel Industry Association;
- ALEXANDER TROWBRIDGE, of Washington, D.C., president, National Association of Manufacturers;
- ✓ TED TURNER, of Marietta, Ga., businessman and sportsman;
- ✓ JACK VALENTI, of Washington, D.C., president, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc.;
- ✓ SARAH VAUGHN, of Hidden Hills, Calif., singer;
- ABRAHAM S. VENABLE, of Detroit, Mich., director of urban affairs, General Motors Corp.;

Meg Greenfield

The Passionless President

I have been trying to figure out what it is that is so peculiar about the pre-convention struggle now going on to stop Jimmy Carter's nomination. Presidents have been in low estate in the polls before. Last-minute jitters, made worse by new bursts of scandal à la the Billy Carter affair, are par for the course. And so are the attempts of rivals for the nomination to cast as matters of conscience, fair play and even the survival of the Constitution, procedural changes they wish to make to their own advantage. You may take it as an ironclad rule that all the passions evinced on either side of these explosive, eleventh-hour procedural conflicts are either overwrought or phony.

Did I say "passions"? It's an odd word to use in connection with Jimmy Carter. You sense that the minute you've said it, and there, it seems to me, is the first clue as to what's wrong. As I write, they are betting that not even the combination of Billy Carter, Teddy Kennedy and Edward Bennett Williams will be enough to bring Carter down. But whichever way the conflict ends, it strikes me that the most distinctive thing about Carter's defense is not its

toughness, but the fact that it apparently engages so little beyond itself in the way of feeling or loyalty to program or constituent fervor. He will win, they say. He has the votes. That is that.

Four years ago, courtesy of Robert Strauss' genius and obsession with party unity, the tableau behind a newly nominated Jimmy Carter was almost a sight gag. Just about the only reason for not being on that crammed platform, if you were a Democrat of national note, was that you were dead. Strauss would accept no other excuse. So, there they all were, waving, as one: George Wallace and Barbara Jordan and Scoop Jackson and George McGovern and Hubert and . . . and . . . and. Only now one sees that this was an illusion. Yes, the party wasn't at its own collective throat, the way it had been over the years. But Jimmy Carter, while perhaps a "unifler," was not an embodiment or even an agent of the various institutional and political interests these leaders represented. And three and one-half years into his presidency, he still is not. It is a one-case-at-a-time, personalized, loner's presidency. And this, it seems to me, accounts

for the relatively noiseless and joyless way its defenders are defending it.

I am aware that noise and joy and sweaty high emotions in general can often be the expressions of all that is worst in politics. People never cheer so loudly nor support so blindly as when they are embarked on some vindictive crusade against their fellow citizens or when they are defending obsolete policies with which they are identified and which have failed. In the camps of Carter's various antagonists from Reagan to Kennedy it is surely true that some of this, in fact a lot, prevails. Still, I think it must be accounted a failure of Carter's that he has been able to generate so little feeling of his own and so little collective sense that he represents an identifiable program—certain values and choices and priorities—that an identifiable group of voters thinks is right.

It is more than a desire to put some

won the nomination and the office by himself—on his own, without help, without incurring debt or obligation. Both he and Mrs. Carter frequently made this observation, and it always had a ping different from the one intended. You didn't think so much of Carter as the independent rescuer of politics from the cronyish arrangements that had plagued it. You thought of him as isolated, wary, stingy, even "conceited," as we used to say in high school—unwilling to share the glory of the achievement or to depersonalize the office. It was the Carter Presidency, not the Democratic Presidency. The trouble was that he was owed as little by others as he himself owed them. And I don't think that in four years Carter has changed that at all. He is as distant now and disconnected from, say, the leaders of Congress, the union types et al. as he was in the beginning.

Party, program and even the office of the presidency itself have been made to yield to this curious insistence on an independent, nontraditional and uninstitutionalized role. The plan for resolving the Billy business, at the moment I write, is for the president to appear before a congressional committee

to testify and be examined. I think a terrible idea, and not just from separation-of-powers point of view. Politically, getting into the wits chair is to assume the suspect's role is demeaning for a president. Carter takes not just himself, but the office there. And yet, he has said he would do it. This is a virtuoso performance have been promised, not a presidential one. It is the moral equivalent of going—lonely, a personal endurance test, not something that has to do with the general well-being of the group as a whole.

Maybe this curious Carter presidency is right for the transition from old to new programs and alignments the country is experiencing. It is such a mixed bag and elicits such mixed emotions. It has been, like the president, at once poignant, desolate, well-meaning, self-righteous, unemotional, rational and better able to demonstrate that the opposition was wrong than that it was right. It is a one-man show. No wonder the president's side, though convinced that he is better than the competition, doesn't seem to be in full voice.

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distance between themselves and Carter's foul-ups that has bred this curious detachment of the president from his constituents and supporters. It is, in addition, Jimmy Carter's own brainy, analytical and, in a sense, apolitical way of espousing positions. His policies do not hang together in any familiar, warts-and-all way. They do not represent a political bent or prejudice or predisposition. They often are politically contradictory. So they do not attract or bind a single kind of voter. Within any of the countless groupings of voters that exist, the individual must choose between Carter actions that attract and repel.

And he is no more all-out in his approach to the leaders of other institutions—Congress, trade unions and so forth. It was an ill-considered boast of the president in 1976 and generally into the first year of his term that he had

"It must be accounted a failure of Carter's that he has been able to generate so little feeling of his own."

CARTER ATTACK POINTS

FOREIGN/DEFENSE POLICY

In 1976, Carter pledged to cut \$5 to \$7 Billion from defense because US had too many troops, too many bases, too many officers, and too many weapons.

Since 1977, Carter has cut more than \$50 Billion from Republican Administration defense plans, at the same time as Soviets were accelerating defense spending---spending 50% more than US in 1979 alone.

Carter simultaneously pursued naive, vacillating foreign policy riddled with mistakes---e.g., UN vote on Israeli settlements. As a result:

- o Allies doubt our judgment and reliability
- o Adversaries doubt our resolve
- o Both doubt our capabilities
- o No one can understand our intentions

Bombastic rhetoric of any born-again hawk---Republican or Democrat---will not ease the doubts and confusion.

- o Foreign policy cannot be based on rhetoric
- o Firmness must be backed with strength and military capability

BUSH PROGRAM

FOREIGN/DEFENSE POLICY

GB would:

- o repair defenses and rebuild alliances
- o forge new partnerships based on shared economic, energy, and security interests
- o develop and deploy new manned bomber
- o develop and deploy long-range cruise missile
- o strengthen and expand Navy through increased ship-building
- o expand airborne, seaborne tactical forces
- o improve and expand military training
- o strengthen ready reserves, improve incentives
- o register both men and women for potential service
- o revitalize intelligence services
- o ensure adequate military research and development

CARTER ATTACK POINTS

ENERGY

Now facing energy problems caused by 25 years of mistakes that:

- o artificially held prices down
- o encouraged consumption and energy inefficiency
- o discouraged exploration and production
- o helped make US dangerously dependent on foreign oil

Today, Americans pay high price for these past mistakes:

- o imports meet more of our energy needs than before embargo
- o \$80 Billion or more will hemorrhage to OPEC this year
- o bureaucrats delay coal conversion, nuclear development
- o much of public fears nuclear development because of
NRC confusion, mismanagement
- o energy price increases hit all at once
- o American president speaks of war to protect overseas oil

BUSH PROGRAM

ENERGY

GB would:

- o decontrol oil and gas prices, to
- o stimulate domestic exploration, production
- o ensure realistic conservation that comes from paying
true energy costs
- o include energy re-investment requirement in windfall profits
tax, to
- o channel increased energy revenues into production, research
- o extend tax incentives for conservation and conversion by
businesses and individuals
- o extend aid to needy families to help meet energy bills
- o correct Carter failure to create working strategic oil
reserve to defend against oil blackmail
- o encourage coal conversion
- o expand nuclear development with better safety standards
- o encourage research and development on: new energy sources,
fuel efficient transportation, renewable energy
- o support mass transportation

CARTER ATTACK POINTS

HOUSING

In three years of Carternomics:

- o mortgage rates have nearly doubled in some areas, from 9% to as high as 17% (in Washington)
- o new home prices have increased more than 60%, to more than \$78,000 on the average
- o new construction has slumped to lowest level since 1972
 1. annual rate of 1.5 Million units
 2. far below 2 Million units needed just to meet demands of newly formed households
- o construction, real estate, and savings and loan industries severely hurt because of skyrocketing interest rates
- o millions of Americans---old, young, urban rural, poor and middle class---now find housing an intolerable situation and a major financial hardship

BUSH PROGRAM

HOUSING

GB would:

- o expand Section 8 Existing Housing Program
- o expand middle-income rental housing construction
- o encourage experiments with urban homesteading, low-income cooperative ownership
- o extend tax incentives to renovation and remodeling to preserve neighborhoods and communities
- o expand tax incentives for owners and landlords for energy-saving improvements and energy conversions to solar, wood etc.
- o establish tax-free savings accounts for home purchase
- o expand construction for elderly, disabled

Key is breaking inflation to allow moderate monetray policies to return and to break mortgage and price spiral.

CARTER ATTACK POINTS

ECONOMY/INFLATION

Three years of Carternomics have resulted in:

- o inflation up nearly 4 times: from under 5% to nearly 20%
- o prime rate up $2\frac{1}{2}$ times: to $17\frac{1}{2}$ -- $17\frac{3}{4}$ %
- o mortgage rates nearly doubled in some places: 9% to 17%
- o Federal taxing and spending up sharply to nearly 22% of GNP, up from 19%
- o tax burden on individuals now highest since World War II
- o purchasing power declined by more than 5% in 1979
- o individuals pushed into higher tax brackets by inflation
- o broken promise to balance the budget

Carter blames OPEC for economic disasters---but oil price hikes account for only 25% of the inflationary explosion. Weak leadership ---not OPEC---is the problem.

Washington has been

- o over-promising
- o over-spending
- o paying the bills by allowing inflation to generate new tax revenues. Time to call a halt.

BUSH PROGRAM

ECONOMY/INFLATION

GB would revitalize economy and bring inflation under control by:

- o Balancing the federal budget, by
 1. tightly controlling spending
 2. severely limiting government growth
 3. eliminating waste that costs billions
- o Cutting taxes for individuals and businesses to:
 1. reward savings
 2. create jobs
 3. spur investment
 4. encourage industrial modernization
 5. cut payroll taxes
 6. reduce tax rates
 7. encourage energy conservation, conversion
- o Reducing percentage of GNP taken by federal gov't, down dramatically from 22% under Carter
- o Cutting jungle of conflicting, redundant regulations that cost more than \$100 Billion annually and stifle growth and investment



Republican
National
Committee.

July 30, 1976

CARTER AND OPEN GOVERNMENT

Jimmy Carter has written that "the veils of secrecy have seemed to thicken around Washington," and "we need all-inclusive sunshine laws so that special interests will not retain their exclusive access behind closed government doors."^{1/}

Carter's 1970 campaign for Governor of Georgia, however, raises serious questions about Carter's campaign practices. During that campaign, Carter held a press conference attaching his opponent, Carl Saunders, for accepting large corporate contributions. At one point, a reporter asked Carter whether he had accepted large corporate contributions. Carter acknowledged that he had, but declined to specify the amount and source from which they came.^{2/} Just as he is doing in 1976, as early as 1970, Carter was saying one thing and doing another.

In the March 1976 issue of Harper's, investigative reporter Steven Brill discussed the 1970 campaign issue. Carter's forces rushed to respond to Brill's highly critical article. Yet, Carter press secretary Jody Powell conspicuously did not respond to Brill's questions about the 1970 contributors.^{3/}

Moreover, on March 17 Carter was asked on NBC's "Tomorrow" show about the list of 1970 contributors. He claimed that, as a result of no disclosure laws in Georgia, "Nobody ever made a report of contributors and we didn't maintain those records." Though it is true that Georgia had no disclosure at the time, can we honestly believe that Carter never kept records of his contributors?

Carter's claim, on the surface, seems a lame excuse for a man running for the Presidency. More importantly, two accountants who worked on Carter's 1970 campaign contradict him sharply, both stating that the campaign headquarters kept all records of contributors. One of the accountants, CPA Richard Harden, was named head of Georgia's massive Department of Human Resources while Carter was Governor. He has stated that the contributor lists were kept by computer, and that monthly print-outs of all contributors were sent to Carter's campaign managers.^{4/}

In view of the substantive evidence and the testimony by Carter associates, Carter's refusal to reveal records of his campaign contributors and expenditures indicates that he and his campaign associates have something to hide.

1/ Jimmy Carter, Why Not the Best, page 140.

2/ Atlanta Constitution, August 27, 1970.

3/ For a full discussion of Carter's evasiveness on this issue, see the Columbia Journalism Review, July/August, 1976, pages 16-17.

4/ Ibid.



Republican
National
Committee.

RNC RESEARCH DIVISION

CARTER AND THE POLITICAL BOSSES--QUID PRO QUO?

Jimmy Carter often attacks the "powerful political bosses and machine politicians" who oppose him and vows that he has "never relied on powerful politicians to put me in office."¹ Yet Carter often employs tactics reminiscent of the old-style machine politics.

In his 1970 gubernatorial campaign in Georgia, Carter sought and received the endorsement of Roy Harris, then Chairman of the American Independent Party in Georgia, editor of the Augusta Courier, and an organizer of the White Citizens Council. This endorsement weighed heavily in Carter's distinctly conservative appeal to the supporters of former Governor Lester Maddox and Alabama Governor George Wallace, whose backing Carter needed to upset his principle opponent, Carl Sanders.

Carter used the services of William Hamilton, a professional pollster from the East to study attitudes of Georgia voters, and then employed Gerald Rafshoon, an Atlanta advertising specialist to package and market Carter to the voters. Carter drew advice from Charles Kirbo, whose law firm represented Coca Cola, former Governor Ernest Vandiver, and from a young strategist from Albany, Georgia, Hamilton Jordan. Rafshoon, Kirbo, and Jordan each play major roles in Carter's 1976 Presidential campaign.

Carter's current political tactics have changed very little since 1970. He enjoys strong support from Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, the master of machine politics.

Carter appeared at a fundraising dinner in Chicago for Michael Howlett, Daley's handpicked choice for the Democrat gubernatorial nomination, on July 1, 1976. Carter heaped praise on both Daley and Howlett, and recalled for the benefit of the audience a conversation he had with Daley in which Daley pledged to help Carter with the Illinois delegation and with his Presidential campaign. It will surprise no one if Daley rallies the troops to "deliver" the vote for Carter in Cook County and downstate Illinois.

Carter received the influential endorsements of UAW President Leonard Woodcock and Henry Ford II to pull him through a tough primary contest in Michigan, and he has received substantial support from political action committees and organized labor. Carter's Presidential campaign received at least \$120,000 from political action committees and labor unions through June of this year, and an unknown amount of support in terms of "in-kind" contributions.²

In the typical "old-style" mold of politics, Carter has used influential black supporters and black ministers to reach the black community which Carter has relied heavily upon in his presidential bid. Atlanta Congressman Andrew Young and the Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr. have praised Carter to the highest despite Carter's gaffe with the "ethnic purity" remark. Carter's most recent embarrassment came when it was learned that black ministers had been paid to "turn out the vote" in the California primary, and that \$150,000 in expenditures from the campaign for "street money" could not be accounted for. One influential black minister who received \$2,000 to woo black support for Carter said, "I don't work for no damn politician for nothing."³ However, relenting to criticism, Carter forces have started to return the money they received.

Carter weakened under pressure from late challenges from Idaho's Frank Church and Jerry Brown of California to engage in name-calling and barb-trading, but also left

the door open to "horsetrading," a practice which Carter lambasted Brown for encouraging. Carter charged that Brown had been "adopted by the machine politicians" who were hoping for a brokered convention in New York, but in the late stages of the primary campaign, Carter left the door open for some of his own "horsetrading." Said Carter, "I'll wait and see what happens."⁴

For someone who detests "powerful machine politicians," political "horsetrading" and does not need anyone's assistance to be elected, Carter has quite a collection of influential friends and has displayed some pretty fancy footwork. Carter had fairly effectively eliminated serious competition after the Pennsylvania primary, but subjected to pressure in the late primaries, Carter displayed an open willingness to engage in the type of politics he criticized when no one gave him a serious challenge.

1/ Carter campaign speech, Louisiana, April 20, 1976

2/ 1976 FEC Reports

3/ Los Angeles Times, August 8, 1976

4/ Los Angeles Times, May 22, 1976



Republican National Committee.

July 30, 1976

CARTER AND OIL COMPANY CONTRIBUTIONS

— Jimmy Carter's constant claim that "I will not tell a lie," scarcely seems to hold water or, perhaps more appropriately, scarcely seems to hold oil. In his campaign literature, Carter claims that "I will not accept contributions from political action committees controlled by major oil companies."^{1/} Certainly Carter's remark here is clear enough. If he accepts contributions from political action committees controlled by major oil companies, he has lied, breaking both in spirit and fact the thrust of his campaign literature.

The Federal Election Commission reports that the Carter organization has filed indicate that Carter has definitely accepted contributions from political action committees controlled by major oil companies. The Carter reports indicate, for example, that on March 17, 1976 the Good Government Program, a Standard Oil of Indiana political action group, gave Carter \$100.^{2/} Similarly, on April 27, 1976, Carter received a \$500 gift from the Chevron Committee for Political Participation and a contribution from Conoco, also of \$500.^{3/}

All of these gifts are legal, and are appropriately reported. However, their acceptance by the Carter forces is a clear violation of Carter's campaign literature. Jimmy Carter promises that "I will not accept contributions from political action committees controlled by major oil companies." But he does.

^{1/} "Six Energy Proposals by the Energy Action Committee," publication of the Carter organization.

^{2/} Federal Election Committee Reports, Committee for Jimmy Carter.

^{3/} Ibid.



Republican National Committee.

August 25, 1976

JIMMY CARTER ON BOTH SIDES - OIL DIVESTITURE

Jimmy Carter has displayed two attitudes toward big business, especially the nine major oil companies, as Ken Reich of the Los Angeles Times in an August 22, 1976 article substantiates. During the Democrat Convention, Carter met with fifty of the most powerful businessmen of this country. He told them that a Carter Administration "would be a friend of business" and that he favors "a minimum of government interference" in business. However, his previous statements were more adversarial than friendly.

"...many of the oil companies, particularly the nine major oil companies, have used the confusion and the concern and legitimate shortages in order to greatly increase their profits."

"And I think in many instances they have deliberately withheld both information about fuel supplies and also fuel supplies themselves in order to aggravate an already bad situation in order to enhance their own profits."

Speech, Georgia Municipal
Association
January 21, 1974

"I suspect that a conscious and secret decision has been made to allow oil companies to roll up tremendous profits at the expense of noninfluential citizens in one portion of the country."

Atlanta Constitution
January 31, 1974

"I support restrictions on the right of a single company to own all phases of production and distribution of oil. . ."

Des Moines Registrar
January 15, 1976

"I think in some instances coal production has been constrained deliberately by the oil companies, to hold up the price of oil and to hold up the price of coal. . ."

Fortune
May, 1976

After his nomination was apparent, his statements concerning divestiture have been varied depending on to whom he was talking, or what special interest group talked to him last.

On August 9, Carter spoke to Ralph Nader's Public Citizen Forum in Washington, D.C. On this occasion, he said he favored partial divestiture, forcing oil companies to dispose of either wholesale or retail businesses. He has given support to this notion frequently.

However, after a recent Plains, Georgia, briefing from Governor David Boren, of oil-rich Oklahoma, and other energy magnates such as Thomas Sigler, Vice-President of the Continental Oil Company, Carter sang quite a different tune. He said that instead of divestiture on the wholesale and retail levels, he now had an "inclination to support" Boren's plan to make oil companies file separate tax returns on the profits from each level of operation—production, distribution, refining, and marketing. This is a dramatic reversal from his caustic statements issued in 1974.

He comes full swing from this 1974 position in a statement found in the April 21, 1976 edition of the Indianapolis News:

"One of the most damaging things in this country is the hatred that has been engendered" against oil companies.

What duplicity! As a vitriolic critic of oil companies just two years prior, Carter is in part responsible for the hatred.

The question is, where does Jimmy Carter stand on the important issue of oil divestiture? It does not appear that he still believes big oil companies are deliberately withholding information or confusing the American consumers to reap great profits, but likewise he did tell Ralph Nader's group that he favors divestiture of the wholesale and retail operations of the oil companies. Now he is "inclined" towards Governor Boren's proposal.

The significance of Carter's recent equivocations on oil should not be lightly considered. Much of the Cotton South is also Oil South, and forms, in Carter's thinking at least, a base of natural geographic support. As demonstrated on other issues, such as Right to Work, Welfare and Abortion, Carter is adroit at fitting his comments to the audience; in the case of divestiture of oil holdings, Carter is attempting to hold the the strength of the Oil South, and at the same time appease and assuage liberal, Eastern, and lower income audiences.

A classic example would be Louisiana, a major oil producing state. The Governor, Edwin Edwards, is cool to Carter. Reports from the Petroleum Club of New Orleans indicate distrust of Carter. His former harsh statements have not been forgotten, notwithstanding his current "softening". Yet Louisiana is still considered for Carter. Intemperant comments on a major job producing industry might erode that strength. Thus, the new approach.

Finally, where before Carter pledged that he would not accept campaign contributions "from political action committees controlled by major oil companies," his FEC report indicates that he has accepted such contributions, and significant contributions, under the present restrictions.

Carter seems to be troubled by the oil divestiture problem, shifting and trimming to fit the audience. It may be that his major financial backers, Henry Ford, etc. are exerting pressure on him to soften the attacks.



Republican National Committee.

July 30, 1976

CARTER AND GIFTS TO PUBLIC OFFICIALS

Jimmy Carter's record as Governor of Georgia does not square with his promises as a Presidential candidate when it comes to corporate gifts to public officials. Carter speaks against such gifts, but the record clearly shows that, while Governor of Georgia, he accepted free airplane rides from at least two corporations - Lockheed and Coca Cola. Moreover, Carter used the executive jets of the two giant corporations even though the state provided him with travel funds and aircraft, and he admitted in 1970 that he had received large campaign contributions from Georgia corporations. His record is in striking contrast to what he himself claims ought to be public policy.

In his presentation to the platform committee of the Democratic Party, Carter urged that "absolutely no gifts of value should ever again be permitted to a public official. A report of all minor personal gifts should be made public."^{1/}

Carter received a three-week sweep through Latin America, on a Lockheed Corporation Jetstar, during April of 1972.^{2/} He also used Coca Cola Company planes to attend several Governors Conferences, and may have ridden on flights to Washington in them as well.^{3/}

Both Coca Cola and Lockheed have major installations in Georgia, and as two of Georgia's biggest employers have long had close ties with the State Government.

Nicholas M. Horrock, of the New York Times, investigating the use of corporate planes by Carter, notes that "the use of corporate executive aircraft

by public officials raises questions of whether the companies providing the flights can obtain favoritism from the officials they carry as passengers. Only last year Governor Marvin Mandel of Maryland came under widespread criticism for taking trips on private corporate aircraft."^{4/}

Jimmy Carter's use of private planes, at the very time that the State was providing him with transportation, clearly raises questions about his political relationship with Georgia corporations.

1/ "Jimmy Carter's Presentation to the Platform Committee of the Democratic Party," page 5.

2/ "Carter, as Governor, Got Free Rides on Planes of Lockheed and Coca Cola," New York Times, April 1, 1976.

3/ Ibid.

4/ Ibid.

Carter Fell Short of Promises, Common Cause Says

Associated Press

President Carter fell far short in building his new administration after the 1976 election, primarily because he promised too much, Common Cause asserted yesterday.

"By the standards of his predecessors, Carter ranks adequately," organization said in a study. But by the standards of his own promise, he records repeated failures.

"Carter said he would be a competent and efficient manager, but his personnel operations were amateurish, costing him dearly in delay, public credibility, and his ability to carry out his campaign commitments," the report said.

Common Cause, a group calling itself the "citizens' lobby," said its report was based on analysis and more than 40 interviews with persons involved in the Carter campaign, the transition office and the presidency.

It concluded that Carter did an admirable job in filling the top administration positions on which he personally focused but that he failed to establish a professional process for appointments that he could not handle alone.

"In the early months he relied too heavily on one person [Hamilton] Jordan, a man of limited experience," the report said.

"Carter and Jordan failed initially to understand in a practical sense the important relationship between the appointments process and the president's ability to lead the nation and manage the government," it said.

The report said a schism between Carter's preelection transition study group headed by Jack Watson and the campaign committee headed by Jordan crippled the personnel process.

Meanwhile, Carter's challenger for the Democratic nomination, Sen. Ed-

ward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) huddled with members of the Congressional Black Caucus and was told by one member that there's not a dime's worth of difference between his policies and Carter's.

Kennedy said he asked for no endorsements and wanted only to hear the views of congressional black leaders in advance of his formal announcement next week that he will seek the Democratic presidential nomination.

"There's absolutely hardly any difference between President Carter and Sen. Kennedy at this point," said Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.).

"Right now it is really a race between Kennedy and Carter to see who is going to capture the right in Democratic politics," Conyers said.

He said Kennedy has not spelled out any significant difference between himself and Carter on the economy,

on high black unemployment, on inflation, on programs to aid urban areas and the poor.

Conyers said the conservative tone of a recent Kennedy speech to business leaders left a lot of his black supporters "in shock." He scored Kennedy's pending criminal code revision bill as repressive and said he finds it "repugnant."

"He expressed his views and I respect those views," Kennedy said later. He said he would be spelling out his policy positions in his announcement speech and throughout the campaign.

Kennedy asked for the meeting with the Congressional Black Caucus. He said he asked for no endorsements and received none.

Rep. Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.), conference chairman, said the caucus will not endorse any candidate.

Carter's Economics: a

His Jobs Policy Has Alienated

Blue-Collar Votes

LA Times 7.27.80

By LESTER C. THUROW

No Democratic President since Franklin Delano Roosevelt has presided over a recession during an election year. Only one recession, that of 1949, has even occurred during the administration of a Democratic President since World War II. But Roosevelt's recessions could be blamed on a nasty inheritance, the Great Depression, from the preceding Republican President. And Harry S. Truman could blame his recession on the post-World War II transition from military to civilian production.

This places President Carter in a unique position. He is the first Democratic President in this century to run for reelection during a recession that began during his term of office.

But what is worse, he must run for reelection in a recession that he deliberately created—one that wears a very large designer's label reading "Made In Washington." Carter's fiscal policies and the monetarist policies imposed by his appointees with his acquiescence forced the economy into a recession. In the aftermath of the credit crunch imposed in March, output fell at a record pace and unemployment soared. On the basis of the Carter Administration's own forecasts, unemployment will average 8.5% during 1981, and this is probably optimistic.

Democratic Presidents have avoided recessions like a plague for a very simple reason. It gets them reelected. The people who vote for Democratic Presidents are the people who end up being unemployed when a recession strikes. Traditional Republican voters are only lightly affected when unemployment arrives.

On the stone tablets of the Democratic Party there is one engraved commandment—and only one: "Jobs come first! Thou shalt never deliberately create unemployment!" Whatever the problem, it must be solved in some way other than by throwing Democrats out of work: This is a commandment to which the Carter Administration pledged its support. In the fall of 1976, Carter as a candidate promised he would never use unemployment to cure inflation. He broke that pledge, and with it the only sacred principle of the Democratic Party.

He will now have to pay the price for breaking that commandment. He will either be cast into the hell of defeat or have to suffer the tortures of purgatory by spending several months in which his reelection is in doubt.

Since the recession began early this year, more than 2 million people have been added to the unemployment rolls. But 1.4 million, or nearly 70% of them, have been blue-collar workers. With blue-collar workers accounting for only one-third of those employed, the net result is a situation where blue-collar workers are five times as likely to become unemployed as the rest of the labor force.

But these are the voters that form the backbone of the Democratic Party. Without them, no Democratic President can be elected.

One can admire the altruism of adopting a policy that hurts your own political supporters far more than that of your opponent, or marvel at the political stupidity of an administration that did what the Carter Administration did, but the fact remains that there is no objective reason why blue-collar voters should support the Carter Administration. The Administration that was supposed to look out for their interests, the Administration that promised never to use their unemployment to fight inflation, did exactly what it had promised not to do.

One can make the argument that when it comes to equal rights, labor legislation, minimum wages and Supreme Court justices, blue-collar workers would be better off with Carter than with Ronald Reagan. But when it comes to the bread-and-butter issue of jobs, Reagan could not be worse than Carter.

Nor is there any reason to believe that things will get better. The Administration plans to continue a strategy of using blue-collar unemployment to fight inflation. Carter is now opposing a tax cut that might shorten the recession and reduce blue-collar unemployment in 1981.

His chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Paul A. Volcker, is promising to keep credit tight and to hold the rate of growth of the money supply below where even he previously pledged it would be held. He is not going to make up the shortfall between performance and targets that occurred earlier in the year. Interest rates are going to be higher than they should be. As a consequence, Volcker is promising to make the current recession worse. If the President disavows these policies, he has not said so. What makes the matter worse, no one—not even the Administration—thinks that inflation will fall below the 10% range.

While the Federal Reserve Board is an independent agency, one of the purposes of electing a President is to ensure that independent agencies will be responsive to the electorate's needs. If the President fails on this dimension, it is simply another political betrayal. If a Democratic President is going to appoint conservative Republican economic advisers, we might as well have the real thing and get the man at the top as well.

When you add up what Carter is now doing and what he promises to do, blue-collar workers would be as bad off in the second Carter Administration as they have been in the first. Given this prospect, it is not surprising that they are now planning to treat the President poorly in his reelection bid. They are simply returning the treatment they have been given.

If Carter's ineptitude was simply dragging him down to defeat, that prospect could be viewed with a certain equanimity. But as a President who does not seem to know what the Democratic Party stands for, who supports it, and what is necessary for its survival, he threatens to drag the whole party down to defeat with him in November. This is a disaster, not just for those who hold office, but for traditional Democratic voters. Their views simply aren't going to be represented in this election. And those elected officials who support their views and protect their interests are going to be fewer in number after this election. They are going down defending the President. But it is not too late for them to act.

In 1958, in the face of inaction by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, congressional Democrats under the leadership of Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn and Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson took command of economic policy-making and passed a program for ending the 1957-58 recession. Congressional Democrats could do the same now.

They could seize the initiative and act like Democrats. A tax cut could be passed to stimulate the economy now. It should not be a tax cut scheduled to go into effect next January as Reagan proposes, or some time later, as Carter is now mulling over, but a tax cut that goes into effect immediately and is retroactive to last January. It is not too late to design a tax cut that stimulates growth and provides jobs without giving all of its benefits to upper-income groups—as would occur under Reagan's Kemp-Roth proposal.

The Kemp-Roth proposal calls for a 30% tax cut over three years, with the first 10% proposed for January, 1981. The cuts would be proportional—that is, a family now paying \$10,000 in taxes would receive a \$1,000 tax cut, and a family now paying \$1,000 in taxes would receive a \$100 tax cut. Well over half the lost revenue would go to families in the economic top 20% of the population. While such a distribution of benefits may be to the liking of Republican voters, it is hardly a distribution of benefits that should appeal to Democratic voters. They will get very little.

Congressional Democrats could also focus on the actions of the Federal Reserve Board. The Fed is legally independent of the President but not of the Congress. Congress has every legal right not just to hold hearings on what the Fed is planning to do, but to order it to implement the monetary policies that Congress thinks are necessary to cure unemployment. Congress has not used that right in the past, but now is the time to do so.

Carter may wish to throw out the stone tablets that have guided the Democratic Party, but it is not too late for congressional Democrats to regain their souls. □

Lester C. Thurow, a professor of economics and management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is the author of "The Zero-Sum Society."

Pertious Performance

^{M/P} Carter as Hoover, Reagan as F.D.R.? ^{LA Times 7.22.80} Socko!

By ERNEST B. FURGURSON

In casting their production for the fall, the Republicans have developed a twist so bizarre that it might work: Jimmy Carter as Herbert Hoover, Ronald Reagan as Franklin D. Roosevelt (with lines borrowed from John F. Kennedy: "You bet we can make America great again!").

They are blatant about it, Jack Kemp proposed it in the first sentence of his speech last Tuesday. "There is a tidal wave coming," he told them. "A political tidal wave as powerful as the one that hit in 1932, when an era of Republican domination gave way to the New Deal."

He said that they were going to convert the Republican minority into a majority party, that millions of every racial, cultural and economic background would surprise themselves by voting Republican—for Reagan. He told how Jody Powell had said that a second Carter term would be much like the first—and jibed, "Can you imagine anything more depressing?"

Depressing, Depression—get it? For decades the Republicans have never dared whisper any such thing in public, any more than they would have given favorable mention to the New Deal.

In case anybody missed it, Reagan's chief of staff brought up the subject at one of those reporters' breakfasts that are supposed to plant ideas subtly, to grow as if originated by the writers.

The governor greatly admired F.D.R., said Edwin Meese. (When he was a college student, sports announcer and new movie star, he was, after all, an F.D.R. Democrat,

and only converted to the GOP in 1962, early in the Goldwater years.) Roosevelt's 1932 speeches roughly represent the 1980 GOP platform, Meese allowed—all about reducing government, putting people to work.

Campaign themes usually are not intended to stand up to rigorous analysis, but it is fair to devote a moment of research to their validity.

In 1932 estimates of the unemployed in America ran up to 13 million, one worker in four. Most banks closed. Industrial production was down to 56% of 1929 output. One of every four farmers lost his farm.

The Bonus Army of World War I veterans marched on Washington and camped there, demanding that the government relieve their poverty by advancing the bonuses promised for 13 years later.

Shack towns like those that the Bonus Army lived in there became known as Hoovervilles. Thin soup was Hoover Soup. Being out of work was being Hooverized, Hoover prosperity.

The Democratic platform in 1932 advocated "expansion of federal programs of necessary construction, like flood control and waterways." It called for increasing jobs by reducing the work day and week. It also endorsed abolishing "useless commissions, departments and bureaus," to save not less than 25% of the cost of the federal government.

This year the Republicans are out strong for creating jobs by cutting taxes not by increasing federal employment. That year, they phrased a comparable approach to job creation this way:

"People themselves, by their own cour-

age, their own patience and resolute effort in readjustment of their own affairs, can and will work out the cure . . ."

Hoover's tax policy, one of easing the burden on those who might invest to create more jobs, won the label of "trickle-down economics."

The Democrats compared it to feeding the sparrows by feeding the horses.

As I say, Kemp and Meese and the others who find promise in the Carter/Hoover-Reagan/Roosevelt casting did not intend for anyone to start digging up statistics and details in response. It makes a nice theme, if you just throw it out between commercials and then change the subject.

If you want to pursue it through this fall, you might note that unemployment this June was 7.7%, an estimated 8.6 million of a much larger work force than 48 years ago. Unemployment compensation, thanks mostly to the New Deal, now cushions the jobless. Although they may make some headway in the coming weeks, the Republicans have not yet popularized a fact of naming bad things for Carter, but they might start by calling Detroit and other auto towns Cartervilles—because so many car workers are laid off.

It is an ingenious but difficult ploy that they have devised. Since the lines—the statistics—cannot carry it off, everything depends on the players. But Reagan has made a box-office success of an unlikely story many times before. □

Ernest B. Furgurson writes a syndicated column in Washington.

Rowland Evans

And Robert Novak

Stronghold Lost

WALTHAM, Mass.—The overwhelmingly Democratic blue-collar voters in this Boston suburb, who gave Jimmy Carter a landslide over Gerald Ford in 1976, have not only turned against the president but have embraced the basic economic and defense policies of Ronald Reagan.

That is the inescapable conclusion from interviewing in Precinct 7-1 just 10 days before the Democratic National Convention. It was selected for us by Patrick Caddell's Cambridge Survey Research as prototypical of blue-collar precincts that heavily supported Carter in 1976 in one of his best states. Is it possible that such a stronghold in the only state won by George McGovern in 1972 could embrace the hero of the Republican right?

It is. Out of 79 registered voters interviewed in Precinct 7-1, this was the outcome (in votes, not percentages): Reagan, 37; Carter, 12; Rep. John Anderson, 22; Ed Clark (Libertarian), 1; would not vote, 2; undecided, 5.

If Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie is substituted for Carter, Reagan's margin shrinks (Reagan 30, Muskie 26, Anderson 19). But that is still a shockingly poor Democratic performance among voters that include only 12 avowed Republicans. Nor can Anderson's independent candidacy be blamed; more of the 22 Anderson voters prefer Reagan to Carter in a two-man race.

Typical is the 47-year-old wife of a telephone lineman, a Democrat who backed Carter last time but prefers Reagan this time. "My problem is the cost of living," she told us. "Carter just hasn't done anything about it."

The 79 voters interviewed were even more pro-Carter in 1976 (69 percent) than the precinct at large (64 percent). When asked how they voted then, many voluntarily added, "Sorry to say," after saying Carter's name. The reason given most frequently by Carter-switchers for supporting Reagan was voiced by a 40-year-old nurse: "Just to get rid of Carter."

These voters give Carter a favorability rating of only 21 percent (compared with 67 percent for Reagan, 63 percent for Muskie, 53 percent for Sen. Edward Kennedy and 46 percent for Anderson). But the upheaval in Precinct 7-1 cannot be explained by Carterphobia that will dissipate once the Carter campaign paints Reagan as a missile-rattling warmonger.

That was shown by answers to questions prepared for us by Caddell: 3-to-1 supporting higher defense spending; 3-to-1 favoring the Republican platform plank calling for "military superiority" over the Russians; 4-to-1 disagreement with the proposition that Reagan as president would bring nuclear war closer; 5-to-1 preference for Reagan over Carter in dealing with the Russians.

But it is not their sense of a diminished America in the world that most bothers these middle-income Americans. Unable to make ends meet while earning a higher salary than they ever dreamed possible (the precinct's median annual income: \$19,500), these voters rate Reagan as poorest of the three candidates in ability to quickly end the recession (Anderson is, curiously, the highest by nearly 4 to 1). But it is not recession that worries precinct 7-1 today. Asked to name the nation's two biggest problems, 47 voters mentioned inflation ("the economy" was second with 20 mentions; only 7 named unemployment). By 6 to 1, these voters rate Reagan as more capable than Carter on inflation. By 4 to 1, they prefer him on taxation.

This contradicts Democratic certainty that Reagan is on the wrong political track in calling for an immediate 10 percent "inflationary" tax cut. The opinion of these voters on Reagan's tax proposal: 67 favor, 8 oppose, 4 don't know. Their reasoning is simple, as expressed by a 51-year-old machinist switching from Carter to Reagan: "I sure could use the money."

Some voters who agree with Reagan's defense and tax positions oppose him anyway. A 35-year-old teacher told us, "I'm afraid of Reagan's kind of conservatism" and will support Anderson even while endorsing the tax cut and military superiority.

A few voters called Reagan too old, and some insisted that Carter be given another chance. But no avowed Reagan voters seemed receptive to the anti-tax cut, anti-military superiority campaign planned by the president once he emerges from Madison Square Garden. That suggests that what is happening in Precinct 7-1 is not just another swing by supposedly volatile voters, but a basic revolution in American political attitudes.

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8/4/80

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R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr.

The Party of the Big Heart

Mervin Field is a respected pollster, and nowadays he brings with him the dolorous news that our president has slipped so far in the electorate's esteem that, were the presidential election held now, Jimmy Carter might finish third behind Ronald Reagan and the good Parson Anderson. True, things could be worse. Our president could be trailing Ed Clark, candidate of the Libertarians, and Barry Commoner, candidate of the Chicken Little coalition. But then the voters really have not had a chance to compare our president with Clark and Commoner. Let him stumble into a televised debate with them and his goose will be cooked and scorched, and left on the compost pile.

So gloomy are our president's prospects that many a Democratic officeholder now dreams of liberating the delegates at the Democratic convention from their vows. It is a fabulous dream: Throughout the vast Madison Square Garden a heavenly host suddenly strikes up "Happy Days Are Here Again." The assembled patriots banish Jimmy to the family gas station. His entire Moon Pie mafia departs also. Ancient wheels begin to turn. Cigar smoke, the like of which has not been whiffed at a Democratic convention for a generation, suddenly fills the Garden. There is a noble speech, and in a burst of exultation a shining new Democratic messiah leaps forward—an FDR for the 1980s! Once again the public trough is preserved for the statesmen and flunkies from the Party of the Big Heart.

Alas, the dream is sheer delusion, self-induced and thus all the more reprehensible. After all, these are not the Democratic delegates who nominated FDR. They are not even the Democratic delegates who nominated JFK. These are the delegates who nominated George McGovern and Jimmy Carter. Today they are older and even more muzzled.

During the past decade and a half, the Democratic politicians have been the herders of hysterics. No goofball constituency has been too exotic for their cynical roundups. Every zany with a gripe has been encouraged. At this

convention the bewildered remnants of the old New Deal coalition will sit cheek and jowl with the friends of the furbish lousewort, vegetarian activists, advocates of rights for trees, militant homosexuals, sworn opponents of the Fortune 500, stalwarts from the National Education Association and worse. The affair could become too violent even for prime-time television. No wonder Sen. Henry Jackson planned not to attend. Even Sen. Frank Church wanted out.

Imagine the results the Democratic wheeler-dealers might stick themselves with if they were to open this convention to the will of these delegates. The nonsense of the 1972 orgies would appear tame and civilized by comparison. One sees Bella Abzug brought back to life. One sees Ramsey Clark grasping at the purple. The disciples of Jerry Brown and Ralph Nader bargain furiously. It would be the gaudiest, gassiest, most colossal political convention ever held. However, it would bring certain defeat to the Democratic ticket in the fall and, if enough taxpaying Amer-

icans got to see it on television, it might lead to the outlawing of the Democratic Party by order of an outraged citizenry.

If the truth be known, candidate Carter is just about what one might expect from the modern Democrats. His policies on defense, the economy and social engineering are firmly rooted in their sacred dogmas. For years they have been winning elections by buying off ever larger chunks of the electorate. Their foreign policy has consisted of thundering highfalutin orations toward the agape foreign ministers of the world, while swinging whiffle bats at tyrants and shipping the national wealth to ingrates and friends indiscriminately.

Now the bills for all their extravagances are coming due, and they blame Jimmy Carter. It is a shameful interlude, and my president has every right to feel hurt. He may be ready for the morticians, but he was condemned to death by the Democratic dogmas. Let us not blame his passing on the Libyan butchers, their bankers or Billy.

Rights and Abortion Planks Are Achieved by Feminists

Ny Times 8.13.80

By LESLIE BENNETTS

In a demonstration of the growing strength of feminists within the Democratic Party, women's rights activists succeeded in pushing through both their major objectives at the convention, despite the opposition of the Carter Administration, which had lobbied hard against both measures.

The proposals, one on the proposed equal rights amendment to the Constitution and the other on the use of Federal funds for abortions, had been supported by a coalition of feminist and other organizations.

The first proposal, Minority Report No. 10, states that the Democratic Party will withhold financing and campaign assistance from candidates who do not support the rights amendment. Carter forces had argued that this would help Republicans in the election and that such a litmus test for support was undemocratic.

"It would out-Republican the Republicans," said Sandra Duckworth, a Democratic national committeewoman from Virginia who spoke against the plank.

Compromise Rejected

But despite intense pressure by the Administration and other organizations to dilute or withdraw the rights plank, including a meeting the night before the vote that lasted until 4 A.M. with Sarah Weddington, a Presidential assistant, women's leaders refused to compromise on the issue.

Less than an hour before the proposal came to the floor yesterday the powerful National Education Association, which on other issues has been solidly behind President Carter's positions, dropped its efforts to revise the plank on the amendment and sent out a call for support to its 302 delegates, who represent the single largest block of votes of any organization at the convention.

Speakers against Minority Report No. 10 were greeted by boos and catcalls, and the measure passed in a voice vote, accompanied by enthusiastic cheers.

Early in the afternoon, Administration

officials were still insisting that they intended to use the Carter "whip" system to keep delegates in line on Report No. 10. In this system, more than 200 campaign workers equipped with walkie-talkies and beepers moved about the floor with the purpose of keeping the Carter forces in control of important votes. However, shortly before the report came to the floor, the officials capitulated and said they would not actively "whip" it.

Seeking to Avoid a Fight

"We don't want to foster disagreements among Democratic women," said Anne Wexler, an assistant to the President, who supports the proposed amendment. "The E.R.A. is the last issue in the world we want to fight about."

On Minority Report No. 11, which endorses the Federal financing of abortions for poor women, the policy of the Carter Administration had been more consistent; Mr. Carter has long been opposed to the practice.

But the plank had received the unqualified support of such women's rights organizations as the National Organization for Women, the National Women's Political Caucus, and the National Abortion Rights Action League in addition to such other groups as the National Education Association.

The vote was taken in a state-by-state roll-call, in which it passed by a substantial margin. However, some questioned its significance, since Mr. Carter has promised to disavow any part of the platform advocating Federal financing of abortions.

Warns of Message

"The only thing it would show is that party people — even those elected to support him — fundamentally disagree with his position," said Eleanor Smeal, president of NOW. "It would send a message to the President that he's not even representing his own constituency on this issue."

DEMOCRATS BAN AID TO EQUAL RIGHTS FOES

8.13.80

Carter Forces Abandon Opposition

— Abortion Funds Supported

NY Times

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.

The Democratic National Convention voted yesterday to cut off financial and political aid to all party candidates who do not support the proposed equal rights amendment to the Constitution.

Until an hour before the issue reached the floor, President Carter's political lieutenants had been organizing to defeat the plank, which they had successfully kept out of the platform in preconvention maneuvering. Then they switched signals and let it go through on a shouted voice vote.

Strong Pressure

The plank represents the strongest pressure for equal rights for women ever brought to bear by a major party, going beyond endorsement of the amendment, opposition to rescission of earlier state ratifications and a boycott aimed at discouraging party groups and others from meeting in states that have not ratified the amendment.

The new equal rights language was one of several changes that Democratic delegates wrote into the party platform yesterday over the active or passive resistance of President Carter, whose renomination was assured Monday night when Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts withdrew from the competition.

Some of the new planks adopted, like one dealing with full employment, were part of the Kennedy challenge to President Carter, pressed despite the end of the Senator's campaign. Others, like the equal rights provision, originated with Democrats who objected to part of the

Carter platform but did not necessarily support Mr. Kennedy's candidacy.

As a practical matter, a ban on financial contributions by national Democratic organizations to candidates who are opposed to the rights amendment would probably affect few candidates other than some Senate and House candidates in relatively conservative states.

Carter political strategists were reportedly convinced that the ban could be narrowly interpreted so as to cause little interference with normal campaign operations. The Democratic National Committee has rarely succeeded in raising enough money to do more than make modest investments in the Presidential race and selected Congressional contests.

In any event, the party platform has never been regarded as binding in a political sense, much less in a legal sense, so the new plank will be more likely to discourage assistance for some Democratic candidates than prevent it.

Democratic feminists won a second victory when the delegates approved a

minority report opposing restrictions on public financing of abortions for the poor. Congress has enacted a ban on such spending by the Government, and the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of that ban earlier this year.

The abortion plank, which got about 200 votes more than the required 1,666 majority on a roll-call, manages to avoid any use of the word "abortion." It opposes "government interference in the reproductive decisions of Americans" as well as "involuntary or uninformed sterilization for women and men" and "restrictions on funding for health services for the poor that deny poor women especially the right to exercise a Constitutionally-guaranteed right to privacy."

The first victory by the Kennedy delegates came with adoption of a minority plank stating that "the need to guarantee a job for every American who is able to work ... is our single highest domestic priority and will take precedence over all other domestic priorities."

It was approved 1,763 to 1,390, which indicated that perhaps 600 delegates who voted against the rules change backed by Senator Kennedy on Monday shifted their orientation and supported his full-employment plank a day later.

A Kennedy amendment calling for immediate enactment of a comprehensive national health insurance plan was defeated, 1,573 to 1,349. Supporters of the President argued successfully that a step-by-step program was less expensive and more likely to win Congressional approval.

In a long day of floor debate, the convention adopted without opposition several changes in the platform that had originally been presented by the Kennedy minority and later accepted or compromised by Carter supporters. They included:

¶ Opposition to reduction in funding of any Government programs "whose purpose is to serve the basic human needs of the most needy in our society."

¶ A pledge to enact in Congress a phased reduction in the state share of the cost of Federal-state welfare programs.

Carter Vulnerability

LABOR LEADERS SAY THEY ARE DISPIRITED

8.12.80

Disappointed in Carter's Economic
Programs, Most Still Support

President Over Reagan

NY Times

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

The labor leaders are in New York City in force, as befits a Democratic National Convention, but many are dispirited by the near-certainty that Jimmy Carter will again win his party's nomination.

Once they thought of the Democratic Party as their own, with organized labor one of its firmest pillars. They were wooed and consulted and played major roles in the smoke-filled rooms. But now the smoke-filled rooms have given way to Presidential primaries, and the disheartened leaders consider themselves irrelevant to the proceedings this week.

Although the dissidents consider President Carter a Republican in Democratic clothing, with a record they consider unacceptably conservative, especially on economic issues, they acknowledge that having the alternative of Ronald Reagan will probably keep them within the Democratic camp.

"There's such bitterness against Carter in our union, and concern that he's cut back on services to the needy and he's using unemployment as an economic policy, that our members want to lash out at the betrayal they feel," said Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. "The issue of the lesser of two evils is lost. Maybe it can be turned around, but I don't know."

Labor Officials Among Delegates

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations estimates that approximately 400 union officials are in New York as convention delegates. Of these, 200 are committed to Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, about 150 to the President and the rest to no one, according to a press spokesman for the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. A CBS News count of delegates puts the number of union members at 891.

More than usual the labor movement is divided, with many large unions supporting President Carter. These include the steel, communications and clothing workers and the National Education Association. But the Carter campaign acknowledges concern over the large number of unions that have supported Senator Kennedy, and are thus far reluctant to support the President on the eve of his expected renomination.

"We have a good, solid core of labor support," said Landow Butler, labor coordinator for the Carter-Mondale Presidential Committee.

Douglas A. Fraser, president of the United Automobile Workers, has also

come to town to support the candidacy of Senator Kennedy. But he has agreed to place Walter F. Mondale's name in nomination for the Vice Presidency, in the likely event that Mr. Carter wins renomination because "his Senate record is comparable to Kennedy's."

For Mr. Fraser, "It's a difficult time, we're sort of dispirited." Like many other dissident labor leaders, Mr. Fraser feels bypassed by the party. "We want a broader role in party decision making," he said. "We feel we have less participation in the process. More and more of our people are saying, 'What's the use, what difference will it make?'"

Union to Poll 3,500 Members

Mr. Fraser said that his union would poll 3,500 delegates to its constitutional convention scheduled for the Labor Day weekend to determine if the membership will endorse Mr. Carter. He suspects that, despite widespread hostility toward the President, time may be on Mr. Carter's side.

"The Republican convention already changed the attitudes of our members," Mr. Fraser said. "Here was a convention that was all white, all male, all wealthy. The Democratic Party is still the party of the people."

But to William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, the Carter candidacy is flatly unacceptable. "If this party sees fit to nominate an ordained loser, I'm walking out," he said.

Mr. Winpisinger, a Maryland delegate, said that he would support the independent candidacy of Barry Commoner, the environmentalist.

No Position on Carter

Some unions, such as the United Mine Workers and the American Federation of Government Employees, have taken no position on the Carter candidacy. But Joe Gleason, executive vice president of the government employees' union, expressed the view of many of his fellow labor leaders when he said, "I don't think that labor can point to a single accomplishment of the Carter Administration."

This view of Mr. Carter is not universally shared, however. To Sol Chaikin, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, "He's the first president since Jack Kennedy to evidence any measure of concern for the textile industry." He cited the Administration's efforts to reduce import quotas on textile goods from Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea.

'Primaries Have Helped Us'

Nor does Mr. Chaikin accept labor's laments concerning exclusion from the party's deliberations. "Labor is represented by delegates," he said. "The primaries have helped us."

Stuart E. Eizenstat, the President's chief domestic adviser, acknowledged that the platform changes and the President's forthcoming new economic policy were intended, in part, to elicit labor support.

"We would be concerned if any people we expected to get don't support us," Mr. Eizenstat said.

"The great bulk of the labor movement will support us," he predicted.

Economic Platform Questioned

Ability of Carter To Shift Doubted

NY Times 8.12.80

By LEONARD SILK

With the economy caught in recession and likely to continue its downward course at least through the November election, President Carter may well have made a virtue of necessity in accepting Senator Edward M. Kennedy's terms for a Democratic Party platform renouncing high interest rates and unemployment as the answer to inflation.

News Analysis

As the Massachusetts Democrat put the case for a more aggressive attack on the slumping economy, "the economic issue is the key issue, and we cannot concede it to the Republicans."

Ronald Reagan, the Republican standard-bearer, has indeed taken dead aim at Mr. Carter on the economic issues and has fought to outflank him by proposing deep tax cuts and new monetary policies to attack stagnating productivity, unemployment and inflation.

A Kind of New Deal

In invoking the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt in his speech accepting the Republican nomination, Mr. Reagan appeared to be portraying the "new beginning" for the Republican Party as a kind of New Deal.

While Hamilton Jordan and other representatives of President Carter denied yesterday that Mr. Carter's acceptance of some of the Kennedy economic planks represented any shift in Administration policy, the fact is that, during the last year, the Carter Administration has indeed accepted a monetary policy that pushed interest rates to record heights and accepted rising unemployment as the consequence of monetary and fiscal restraints aimed at checking inflation.

Mr. Carter's effort to conciliate Senator Kennedy might give the Democrats "a stronger platform," as Mr. Kennedy said, no matter who runs on that platform. A platform including the Kennedy thrust would probably help heal the breach between the party's liberals and conservatives. It would

also offer greater reason for support of their party to blacks, minorities, auto workers, construction workers and other groups hard hit by the recession.

Federal Reserve's Province

The question now, however, is whether Mr. Carter — assuming that he retains his hold on the Democratic nomination — can make the new platform credible. For one thing, he is not in unchallenged command of monetary policy. That is the province of the Federal Reserve Board. Last year, in naming the cautious and conservative Paul A. Volcker as chairman of the Federal Reserve, at a time when rising inflation and the sinking dollar were the most

critical concerns, Mr. Carter gave a hostage to his political fortunes.

It appears improbable that Mr. Carter can now induce the Federal Reserve to assist his election, if this should exacerbate the inflationary threat. Mr. Volcker has shown no change in his determination to hold the economy on an anti-inflationary course.

Although interest rates did come down sharply in the last few months as the recession dragged down monetary growth, Mr. Volcker has recently indicated that the Fed has no intention of pushing up the money supply at a faster rate to stay within earlier target rates of monetary expansion. He has appeared concerned that interest rates might be pushed down too fast by an effort to set monetary growth too high.

Ability to Bring Pressure

President Carter appears likely to have a tough fight on his hands if he were now to seek to induce a significantly easier monetary policy from the Volcker-led Federal Reserve Open Market Committee. However, Presidents in the past have sometimes shown a ability to bring pressure upon the Fed that gave them the monetary policy they sought.

Mr. Carter is also severely constrained on the budgetary front from going very far to meet Senator Kennedy's demands for markedly greater fiscal support to the economy through expanded social programs.

In accepting some of the Kennedy planks, such as those proclaiming no reductions in such Federal programs as welfare, food stamps and health care, the President did not extend his effort at conciliation to include the Kennedy proposals for a \$12 billion Federal job creation program. Nor did he accept Mr. Kennedy's bid for a platform commitment to wage and price controls.

Mr. Carter, with a \$50 billion deficit in the Federal budget staring him in the face, even without a tax cut, is unlikely to accept major increases in Federal expenditures. A tax cut for consumers and business, intended to partially meet the competitive fiscal attack of Mr. Reagan, could readily increase the 1981 budget deficit to \$70 bil-

lion. In the view of Mr. Carter and many of his advisers, this would exacerbate the threat of worsened inflation.

If Mr. Carter is entering a period of trying to pressure the Federal Reserve to hold down interest rates and ease monetary restraints to help him combat unemployment, he might be left without the one weapon he has been willing to use in the fight against inflation.

This suggests that the President, now prepared to renounce high interest rates and unemployment as his prime weapon against inflation, might seek a new "incomes policy" as a key plank in the Democratic platform — a plank that might call for trading tax concessions or incentives to business and labor for restraint on wages and prices.

The Inner Carter

Presidency Has Altered Georgian, but Backers Concede Faults Persist

'He's Much More Pragmatic,' But Communications Gap And Excess Loyalty Hurt

1082— Tension in a Trouble Zone

By TIMOTHY D. SCHELLHARDT
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
NEW YORK—For Jimmy Carter, the Democratic convention that begins today should have heralded a joyful coronation, with a thankful party sending him to slay another Republican dragon.

But the confusion and divisiveness that probably will reign this week seem the more appropriate backdrop, given the turbulence that has so often marked his presidency.

Many of the delegates who arrived here over the weekend, including a lot of Carter supporters, have groped to answer that overriding question: Why is Jimmy Carter in such miserable political shape? Just what explains the loss of faith in the party's self-confident, decent, hard-working standard-bearer of four years ago?

The answer, for the most part, lies with Jimmy Carter and the inner forces that

drive him. After 3½ years in the Oval Office, he is in some ways a changed man—more knowledgeable, more savvy, more realistic. He has thus managed to correct some of the shortcomings that led to the early public perception of a likable but naive leader beyond his depth.

Yet, as even many of his own allies see it, Mr. Carter hasn't

changed enough. They find serious faults persisting to diminish the President's stature. By their assessments, he still communicates his wishes and goals ineffectively, still lacks a guiding philosophy, remains overly loyal to a small group of old Georgia associates, and gives up too easily on long-advocated programs that appear unattainable or require follow-up action.

Outside analysts tend to agree. Concludes Thomas Cronin, a prominent academic watcher of the Carter performance: "For many, he still appears incapable of communicating a sense of confidence, a sense of direction, a sense of theme to his presidency."

Intractable Problems

Other obstacles, of course, make it difficult for Mr. Carter to overcome his political ills: seemingly intractable domestic and foreign problems; a fractious Congress; the cynical post-Watergate citizenry; a skeptical, often hostile, press.

Despite his travails, President Carter is expected to win renomination here Wednesday night over his rival, Sen. Edward Kennedy. And although he trails GOP presidential nominee Ronald Reagan by a huge margin in opinion polls, Mr. Carter can't yet be counted out of the fall race.

The soft-spoken Georgia peanut farmer with the engaging toothy grin retains many of the qualities that captivated and unified this convention four years ago. Although he has aged visibly and shows fatigue more rapidly now, Mr. Carter is still viewed as sincere, honest, bright and hard to dislike. His somewhat eclectic political ideology, that of a fiscal conservative but a social moderate, seems basically the same as in 1976.

"Philosophically he hasn't changed much, but he's discovered things aren't as simple and neat as he thought they'd be,"

acknowledges Robert Strauss, the President's campaign director.

At first innocent or ignorant about the Washington establishment that he had railed against, President Carter has gradually felt compelled to establish closer ties with Congress. He has broadened his senior staff beyond the initial small cadre of loyal Georgians, and he has narrowed his priorities to just a few main issues, such as energy and inflation.

Now that the President has made such changes, contends Jody Powell, presidential spokesman and longtime aide, "he's more comfortable, sure of himself." And a prominent Carter supporter, Du Pont Co. Chairman Irving Shapiro, says: "He's much more a pragmatic, hard-nosed politician."

"Still Jimmy Who"

What troubles other associates and congressional allies, however, is that President Carter hasn't changed all that much. They still detect a failure to establish a clear focus for his presidency, a set of discernible principles guiding his administration. Other observers agree. "It's still Jimmy Who," says Seymour Lipset, a Stanford University political scientist.

This failure helps explain flip-flops or apparent contradictions in Mr. Carter's foreign and domestic policies. But there are other explanations as well—notably a frequent gap in communications.

The President, for instance, manages to alienate many proponents of arms control and backers of higher defense spending when he embraces both goals but "fails to explain why they are compatible," a former administration official says.

An intense loner, Mr. Carter still doesn't command attention consistently from the public, Congress or even his own staff. Sometimes even minor incidents betray a failure to get presidential wishes translated into action. Last week an aide simply forgot that Mr. Carter last November had forbidden the issuance of parade permits for Iranian-related demonstrations outside the White House gates. Neither he nor anyone else was reminded soon enough. As a result of the aide's oversight, Washington police issued a permit to a group of pro-Khomeini Iranian protesters; its demonstrations led to angry confrontations with opponents of the ayatollah.

A more striking communications foul-up emerged over the weekend, and Secretary of State Edmund Muskie is disturbed by it. He complains that he was frozen out of a recent presidential decision to revise the country's nuclear-war strategy. The Secretary says he didn't learn of the decision until he read news reports about it. As Mr. Muskie sees it, the nation's chief foreign-policy official is entitled to prompt knowledge of such developments; the President, of course, could have ensured that his Secretary of State received the information.

Often, White House slip-ups are traceable to sloppy staff work, but the President nonetheless bears the final responsibility. And sloppy work frequently goes unpunished because, as one longtime Carter loyalist puts it, "he so studiously controls his emotions that not enough people know when he's angry."

A paper-pusher, Mr. Carter still doesn't relish the give-and-take of exploring alternatives at lengthy staff sessions. Aides say he listens intently or, like a college lecturer, dominates a discussion, but there is little resolution of an issue. "He doesn't give much direction, and if you do something that he doesn't like, he won't spend time telling you he wants it done differently," says one administration official. Says another, "He's very passive."

As several aides explain it, Mr. Carter remains fundamentally uncomfortable in close personal relationships. He has few intimate friends, and even with them he finds it difficult to relax. An aide to former budget chief Bert Lance, after sitting in on several private discussions between the President and his close friend, once asked Mr. Lance, "If I weren't in the room, would he always be that up-tight?" "Yes, that's just the way the man is," Mr. Lance replied.

The President "simply can't sit down with (House Speaker Thomas) Tip O'Neill, light a cigar, pump O'Neill's hand and chat," says a White House lobbyist. Last year the President invited a small group of

Congressmen to spend a relaxing weekend with him at Camp David, and participants said it raised their assessment of the President. Mr. Carter told his staff he wanted to do that sort of thing more often, but he never has.

This inability to relax takes other forms as well. Du Pont Chairman Shapiro finds that Mr. Carter "freezes before large groups of business executives," presumably because he knows many are wary of him. A political adviser says the President also becomes extremely tense when he flies into a political trouble zone. When flying to the West, where he is generally unpopular, "his shoulders tighten as soon as we cross the Mississippi," this adviser says.

The President's physician has suggested one common remedy to combat some of the tension. Before speaking to a large group, Mr. Carter takes a deep breath, much like a long sigh.

A Poor Judge of People?

Many Carter-watchers contend the President is a poor judge of people; they say a stubbornness in sticking to his personnel choices accentuates that problem. "He's one of the strongest individuals on issues and the weakest on people I've ever met," an Atlanta friend says of Mr. Carter. It took the President 15 months to shake up a White House staff that had served him poorly during his first year. Fifteen months later, he had to make more drastic changes in his staff and, for the first time, in his Cabinet.

"Some of those changes should have been made after the first year," a close aide insists.

"The President is stubborn and loyal," acknowledges Frank Moore, the fellow Georgian who is chief of congressional relations. "Given the problems we've had with Congress, he probably should have fired me," Mr. Moore says matter-of-factly.

Mr. Carter's apparent inability to establish effective control over his aides and others, notably brother Billy, has hurt him in various ways. Carter-watchers trace some of the administration's persistent difficulties with inflation to the President's reluctance to challenge his economic advisers and to grasp adequately the nature of the U.S. economy.

As a result, even some of his closest advisers admit, Mr. Carter made spending decisions early in his presidency that later

worsened inflation. "We ginned up the economy too fast and paid for it in inflation," maintains a top presidential aide. Later, according to this official, Mr. Carter acceded to his economic advisers and waited too long to attack inflation with credit control and budget-balancing moves.

The President has paid a price for these miscalculations. His goal of balancing the federal budget has again fallen by the wayside—this time because of the weak economy. "It's finally dawned on him just how dramatic an effect there can be on the budget when economic circumstances change," a White House official says.

A Lack of Follow-Through

Another persistent failing, as some see it, is that Mr. Carter pushes hard for pet projects but then often drops them. In late 1978, he lost interest in government reorganization—which had been a constant theme during his 1976 campaign and early White House days—because his political aides said the proposals couldn't clear Congress. Similarly, his once-intense interest in human rights and in curbs on arms sales abroad has waned as complications have arisen and other foreign-policy issues have captured his attention.

Some associates criticize him also for failing to follow up on accomplishments. One aide is disturbed that Mr. Carter has forgotten his plan to overhaul civil service—a program that was enacted by Congress. This official maintains that, without a continued presidential push, execution of that program has bogged down in bureaucratic fumbling.

Mr. Carter has hurt himself, too, by a tendency to paint himself into verbal corners. During the early 1980 primaries, he pledged he wouldn't campaign as long as the Iran hostage crisis remained unsettled and



the Soviet presence in Afghanistan stayed unchanged. When those situations bogged down and his political troubles intensified, Mr. Carter simply asserted that things had become "manageable," and he resumed campaigning.

Also, the President may have gone further than he truly wanted when he promised the NATO allies to raise U.S. spending for European defense by an inflation-adjusted 4.5% annually over the next several years. One adviser says Mr. Carter "strongly re-

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grets" this pledge and would like to get out of it. But he simply can't back out. So, according to this aide, he has "sort of withdrawn" from challenging Pentagon arms-spending requests.

The apparent penchant for overpromising may hurt the President in the fall campaign, assuming he is nominated this week as expected.

In last week's speech to the National Urban League here, Mr. Carter promised to unveil plans soon for a huge economic-renewal plan to revitalize American industry and create "millions and millions" of jobs. But administration officials say that the program he will announce will be less than startling and that it would take years to accomplish its goals.

Thus, even Carter loyalists conclude, the President still has some failings to overcome if he is to avoid further pitfalls on the road to reelection.

"The \$64,000 question this fall," declares a Carter campaign strategist, "will be whether he has really learned in his first term."

Vulnerability

^{Carter} PRESIDENT CONCEDES ON PLATFORM ISSUES PRESSED BY KENNEDY

BUT SENATOR IS NOT GIVING UP

8.11.80

Showdown on the Rules Due Today
as Party's 38th Convention

Opens Amid Dissension

NY Times

By HEDRICK SMITH

Thousands of delegates converged on New York yesterday for the opening of the Democratic Party's 38th convention, with Carter and Kennedy forces still headed toward a showdown today over the rules. The battle continued despite a convention-eve concession on the platform from President Carter to Senator Edward M. Kennedy that was aimed at reunifying the party after the convention.

Robert S. Strauss, the Carter campaign chairman, predicted that the delegates would approve the proposed rule requiring delegates to vote for the candidate under whose banner they ran in the primaries or caucuses. [Page B7.]

Moreover, more and more leading delegates, including Kennedy partisans in major states, asserted that President Carter seemed almost certain of victory on the rules fight and thus assured of re-nomination. But Senator Kennedy kept his fellow Democrats in suspense about his future tactics by re-emphasizing differences with the President on economic policy and withholding a firm commitment to support Mr. Carter in the fall campaign.

A Suggestion of Reconciliation

The Massachusetts Senator did open the door toward reconciliation by asserting that "there won't be any Democrat in this country that'll work harder for the success of the nominee" if the President would make real and not just cosmetic changes in the party platform and his economic policies.

Within hours, White House officials announced that they were accepting several of the main planks being pushed by the Kennedy camp. One opposes the use of high rates of interest and unemployment as a means of fighting inflation and another asserts that while fiscal restraint is necessary, the Democratic Party "will not support reductions in the funding of any programs whose purpose is to serve the basic human needs of the most needy in our society."

Jody Powell, the White House press secretary, told reporters that he hoped the President's accommodations on the platform would make it easier for Mr. Kennedy to support Mr. Carter after the

convention. "Obviously, a Democratic victory in November would be easier with the support of Senator Kennedy and all the Democrats," he said.

But at his own headquarters in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Senator Kennedy chose to interpret the Carter concessions as a sign of weakness that would only intensify his own determination to fight to the end for the nomination.

"Quite frankly, this is getting to be the kind of platform that I welcome, I can run on and carry over the country," he said. "These concessions in the platform mean it will be a stronger platform on which I intend to run."

A Kennedy spokesman, Richard Drayne, indicated that the Carter moves would not head off the anticipated clash today over the proposed rule to bind all delegates to their primary and caucus pledges on the nominating roll-call. He also suggested that it would not prevent the subsequent debate tomorrow on other economic planks, including Senator Kennedy's call for a \$12 billion jobs program.

Early yesterday, the Senator identified that as a principal requirement for his supporting the President. But both Mr. Strauss and Stuart Eizenstat, the President's chief domestic adviser, said the Carter camp would not yield on that proposal.

The competition between the two camps over the platform and convention rules immediately engulfed the several thousand delegates and alternates as they arrived in the city, underscoring the deep rift within the party that marked the long primary season and that now has many Democratic officeholders fearful that a ticket headed by Mr. Carter might suffer serious defections in the fall and

lead the party to broad defeats at all levels.

The brawling confusion over the rules issue is in marked contrast to the easy harmony and unity of the Democratic convention here four years ago, when Mr. Carter first won the Presidential nomination after having upset a number of more established party figures in the primaries. The current disunity has made Mr. Kennedy's ultimate stance a matter of strategic importance for the Carter camp in the fall campaign.

Although Mr. Carter used a television interview to predict that he would prevail both at the convention and in the fall campaign, his own strategists privately conceded that the traditional Democratic coalition was in serious disarray, with the split sharpened by Mr. Kennedy's determination to try to dislodge the President's solid delegate majority with the final battle over the rules.

Mr. Kennedy aroused the huge California delegation caucus in the chandelied Hilton Room of the Waldorf at midday with a ringing appeal for delegates to stay with the party's 144-year-old tradition to let delegates vote as they please and not "turn them into robots."

Vowing to press his underdog battle for the nomination, he shouted to the mixed Carter-Kennedy crowd: "I want every one of my delegates to vote their consciences." That sent the room into a frenzy of cheering, "We want Ted! We want Ted!"

Drowned out in the pandemonium was the Senator's hitherto unspoken declaration: "I look forward to working for a united Democratic victory in November."

Such pro-Carter leaders as the California State Treasurer, Jesse Unruh, praised Mr. Kennedy's fighting speech. But one of the top Kennedy leaders in California, Willie Lewis Brown Jr., the majority leader in the California Assembly, was skeptical that it would sway Carter delegates on the controversial rules vote or halt Mr. Carter's drive to renomination.

"Carter has this thing locked up," Mr. Brown said.

Mr. Kennedy himself predicted victory or, at worst, "a nip and tuck" vote on the rules fight, but with the Ohio and California patterns repeated in such other large states as New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Florida, some Kennedy aides were privately discounting the chances of upsetting Mr. Carter, and the independent Committee to Continue the Open Convention was reported nearly on the verge of giving up its efforts.

One participant said that the group had splintered into two factions, one determined to press ahead and another convinced that its efforts were "at low ebb" with no prospects of success unless it specifically endorsed a third candidate, such as Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie.

But while the prospective rules fight occupied the public attention of most delegates, the Carter forces were working behind the scenes to reach some accommodation with Mr. Kennedy and one of the Senator's own strategists remarked privately, "I think he's looking for a way out."

MIP

ABROAD AT HOME

A Party of Hope?

By Anthony Lewis

Democrats always have a good time, and New York is providing plenty of social and cultural glitter for the delegates. But underneath, the mood is dispirited. Not since 1948, when some party leaders were so gloomy about Harry Truman's chances for re-election that they tried to persuade Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower to run in his place, has a Democratic Convention met with political expectations so low. The man who by all signs will win the nomination looks to many like a loser in November. Jimmy Carter is almost an object of political scorn these days. Congressional Democrats are figuring ways to run without his millstone around their necks.

The Democratic gloom is not just a fancy. There are solid reasons for thinking that Ronald Reagan will be in the White House next January.

- Polls show any Democrat running well behind Reagan at this point. A Newsweek poll by Gallup gives Reagan 46 percent, Carter 28, John Ander-

son 17. Carter's own polls show him 16 points behind.

- If the outlook for November is analyzed in terms of electoral votes, it is hard to find a majority for Carter. To have a chance he probably needs California and New York — and defections among liberals and Jewish voters are so great that right now he may be running third in those states.

- The domestic economic situation, usually crucial in American elections, is not likely to brighten by election day. Unemployment will probably be higher, near 9 percent, and more businesses will be in trouble.

- Nor can the incumbent count on good news from abroad. The Camp David peace process, Carter's outstanding foreign-policy achievement, is at a dead end. Revolutionary Iran is if anything less inclined to release the hostages. The Russians are not leaving Afghanistan.

It is all very convincing. But it would be a mistake, a great mistake, to assume that the nomination won

this week in New York is going to be worthless. His troubles notwithstanding, Jimmy Carter has a fair chance of winning re-election.

The argument for Carter's chance is not based on his magic as a candidate. It is often said that he may not be much good at governing but he is a great campaigner. The 1976 record does not support that proposition. Carter made many mistakes, running downhill so fast after the convention that he almost blew a 30-point lead.

What matters is the negatives on the other side. They were hard to see in the love feast between Reagan and the Republican Party in Detroit, but they are there.

First, Republican economics remain highly suspect to working people. The ghost of Herbert Hoover has not been laid by the new conservative talk of "supply side" economics — the theory that we can best help the disadvantaged not by focusing on their needs but adopting tax and other incentives to expand the national economic pie.

The approach sounds painless as Reagan expounds it to urban or black audiences. But an underlying suspicion remains in those audiences — a doubt about Republicans and big business — and it will be intensified as the economic debate goes past generalities. Will working people like a tax-

cut scheme that saves them \$200 and saves Ronald Reagan and others in his bracket many thousands?

The Republicans will also encounter skepticism when they talk of raising defense spending, cutting taxes and balancing the budget all at once. People do not believe in miracles, and Carter will not have a hard time ridiculing that proposition.

Second there is a sleeper issue for the Democrats in women's rights. The Republican platform took a hard line against abortion and refused to support the Equal Rights Amendment. Analysts spoke then of a new national mood, conservative on these questions, "pro-family." But the feelings are by no means all on one side.

Nearly half of American women now work outside their homes. It is a country of two-job families: An enormous social change in less than a generation. And a very large number of those families, irrespective of their politics, are going to resent and resist anything that looks like a move to put women

back in the status of subservient homemaker.

So the deeper attitudinal surveys are beginning to show. Reagan is vulnerable on the so-called family issue. The Republican platform troubles some working women — and their husbands. Mrs. Arlene Brown, an unemployed automobile worker, told Francis X. Clines of The New York Times: "These are two-income families, the only way to survive in the middle class nowadays in this country. They (men) want the wife's salary and rights to measure up."

There have to be serious public doubts about Reagan, or he would have a far larger edge after his convention. And there are doubts about Anderson among his supporters. In the end, the alternative to Reagan is likely, for most voters, to be Carter.

It is much too early to make any firm predictions: No one should ever forget how long American campaigns are, and how much can change. The election is a choice not of the ideal but of the possible.

8/13/80

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDN.

WASHINGTON

Carter's Call for "Unity"

By James Reston

President Carter is now calling for the "unity" of the Democratic Party, but there is no unity. He has defeated Senator Kennedy and the other liberal elements of his party, but he has not persuaded them. This could be a very expensive Carter victory, for while Kennedy may play the role of the gallant loser, he still differs with Carter over many aspects of domestic and foreign policy.

All this will no doubt be blurred at the end of the Democratic convention here in New York, but there are still deep personal resentments about the way this campaign and even this convention were conducted.

For example, even after it was clear that the President was going to win the dispute over the rules binding delegates to the primary and caucuses votes, Hamilton Jordan, Mr. Carter's chief political adviser, said the campaign against Reagan would be easier with the help of Kennedy, but added:

"We could do it without him. . . . He doesn't matter so much himself, but his people do." Kennedy may not have thought this was a cheap shot, but many of his people did.

The kindest thing that could be said about the so-called "debate" on the rules on Monday night in Madison Square Garden was that it was a disgrace. There was not only no order in the hall but no attempt by Democratic officials to call for order.

The only people who couldn't hear the arguments for or against a free decision were the delegates in the Garden who had to vote on it. The Carter delegates shouted down the Kennedy speakers and the Kennedy delegates shouted down the Carter speakers. Nobody called for quiet or for people to "clear the aisles" — you couldn't even see the aisles.

Obviously, it would have made no difference even if the delegates had listened to the speakers, for Carter decided in advance — as he had every right to do — that the votes of the primaries and the caucuses should be binding. But there was not even any attempt to pretend that the arguments were worth listening to.

More important, the Kennedy people reject the Carter argument that they lost in a "fair and square" test in the primaries and caucuses. For they insist that Carter won those votes, not by running against Kennedy, but by running against the Ayatollah Khomeini early in the year, when Carter was avoiding the primary elections and suggesting that a vote for Kennedy was a vote against the President of the United States.

cal" strategy in the Rose Garden, and his hard-ball political strategy in Madison Square Garden. While most people have forgotten the difference, the Kennedy people have not and therefore are reluctant to respond to Carter's appeals for "unity" and for "generosity," since they feel he showed them no generosity at all.

Carter has tried to compose his differences with Kennedy by agreeing to compromises in the convention on the party platform. Kennedy has made his arguments for more liberal policies, and has won some victories, but the cynicism about the platform is so widespread that nobody pays much attention to this.

The Carter people have won in the convention not by running on their record but by running against Kennedy, and it is clear that they're going to apply the same tactics against the Republicans. Nobody who speaks to the leaders of the Democratic Party can be left in any doubt about this. They are going to run against Reagan from now on as they ran against Kennedy in the primaries and at the convention.

The Democrats are doing here in their convention precisely what the Republicans did in Detroit. They have computerized every statement Ronald Reagan ever made when he was doing public relations for Big Business, gathering together every provocative pronouncement that somebody else wrote for his columns and broadcasts.

So the campaign promises to be, not a definition of what Carter and Reagan think about the coming years, but a controversy about their silliest statements in the past.

Carter's hope is that when the Kennedy people get over their defeat they will finally come around and agree that, despite their resentments, they will in the end be more favorable to Carter's policies than to Reagan's.

This is the argument that is now going on between the Carter and Kennedy people here before Carter makes his acceptance speech. In a way, it's a sad argument. Because Carter is now in such deep trouble in the popularity polls, in the economy and in foreign policy, that he is arguing to Kennedy for "unity" on the ground that whatever their differences, Carter is more likely to support Kennedy's policies than Reagan is.

The chances are that Kennedy in the end will reluctantly agree, but Kennedy supporters are not so sure. They don't believe in Carter. They may go along, but it is clear there will



Running Scared

Many Democrats Fear

Carter at Top of Slate

Will Cost Them Votes

They Set Independent Races;
Republicans Still Facing
Uphill Battle for Congress

Mr. Udall's Pitch to the Chic

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK—High above the East River, in Mary Lasker's exquisite apartment, Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona is making his pitch for money to finance his reelection campaign.

"For God's sake," he tells Myrna Loy, Adolph Green, Betty Comden, General Motors heir Stewart Mott and a dozen more of the wealthiest liberals in this city, "help me all you can."

Mr. Udall, Monday night's keynote speaker and one of the best-known Democrats in Washington, thinks he is in trouble in Arizona. "After 20 years in Congress," he says, "it's difficult for me to come here—it isn't a happy experience, but it's what I must do."

He isn't alone. Hand-wringing is the posture of most Democrats running for office this year, and nothing that happened at this national convention that ended last night changed that one way or another.

"One of the Wickedest Years"

Russell Hemenway, head of the National Committee for an Effective Congress, a group that has bankrolled liberal candidates for years, figures that he has four or five "sure losers" in the Senate and that "we're going to lose 25 guys in the House. It's one of the wickedest years for Democrats I've ever seen."

They wring their hands at the thought of President Carter at the top of the ticket.

"He's going to do my guys dirt," says Mr. Hemenway. "He's going to wipe us out," says Joe Rothstein, a political consultant who is managing 11 Democratic House campaigns.

What terrifies many of the Democrats is the possibility that this may be a once-in-a-generation election year in which angry voters direct their ire at an entire ticket, from President to candidates for state legislature.

"Ronald Reagan is a special problem for us," says Mr. Rothstein. "He's heading what amounts to a movement. People are hungry for some kind of vision, and he seems to be reaching out to them. This helps everybody on the (Republican) ticket."

Don't Count the Democrats Out

But hold on. For all the hand-wringing the Democrats—including Jimmy Carter—can't be counted out yet. These Democrats, dispirited as they may be, have a knack for weathering adversity. With a little luck, and without that landslide, they hope to do it again.

The congressional battle shakes down this way. In the Senate, the Republicans apparently need to pick up nine seats to gain control—possibly one or two fewer if they could get the support next January of independent Harry Byrd or some conservative Democrat. It's tougher in the House, where the GOP needs a net gain of 58 seats.

The Republicans also are working hard to pick up seats in the state legislatures, and they figure that only 116 victories, scattered here and there, would give them control of half the legislative chambers. That would mean they could fend off Democratic attempts to gerrymander congressional and legislative districts in the rearrangements that will be made on the basis of the 1980 census figures.

Republican strategists, backed by a bulging war chest, will try to link Democrats at all levels with the troubles of the Democratic candidates at the top of the ticket. The Democrats, as usual, will dance and squirm, saying they really are running on their own, "independent" of President Carter and Vice President Walter Mondale.

It may not work for all of them.

Trouble for Mr. Ratchford

Consider the worst-case example of Rep. William Ratchford, a first-term Democrat from Connecticut. His district, he notes, has a split personality. Part of it is the old mill towns in the Naugatuck Valley, where his own polling shows that blue-collar Democrats are flirting with the idea of voting for Mr. Reagan. The other part of the district is the middle-class bedroom communities in Fairfield County, where most voters are firmly wedded to the idea of voting for Mr. Reagan.

"I'm caught in the middle," says Mr. Ratchford. "It's tough. I have to run on my own and just hope that all the visits I've made to the district, all the town meetings I've held and all the literature I've mailed will give me enough visibility to counter this Reagan tide."

"But I don't know if I can come up with enough to survive."

Or consider, more typically, Pennsylvania Democrat Peter Kostmayer, whose suburban Philadelphia district contains 16,000 more Republican voters than Democrats.

"Jimmy Carter," says Mr. Kostmayer, "will cut me down a little—maybe take a couple of points off my final showing if he does really badly." But Mr. Kostmayer says he is a "highly independent" Congressman and will run on his own record of providing ombudsman-type services to his constituents.

He boasts that House Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill called him on the carpet last year and "told me I was pretty low in my level of support for the party."

James Coyne, Mr. Kostmayer's Republican opponent, thinks he has the answer to that. Mr. Kostmayer, says Mr. Coyne, has voted with the Carter administration more than 80% of the time, the second most loyal

showing in the entire Pennsylvania delegation. Mr. Kostmayer isn't worried. He says he got 61% of the vote last time; it would be something of a miracle if he were to lose now.

The House is filled with young Democrats like Peter Kostmayer, many of whom were elected in ordinarily Republican districts in 1974, the Watergate year. The reason the Republicans are so weak in the House is that they never managed to defeat these Democrats, sometimes called the "Watergate babies."

Much of the impetus for an "open convention"—the dump-Carter movement that failed—came from some of these agile young Democrats. Those who were here cheered Sen. Edward Kennedy's rousing speech Tuesday night and dreamed of what might have been.

But they may be protesting too much. William Sweeney Jr., executive director of the House Democratic Campaign Committee, says most of the members doing the grousing "look good in their own polls." Mr. Sweeney says they have been around long enough now to build their own constituencies (unlike first-term Ratchford). Besides, he says, they have had to swim upstream in every election. In 1976, he notes, Mr. Carter had no coattails: He trailed 281 of the 292 members of the House who were elected with him.

These young Democrats, says another Democratic strategist, "have made a career of separating themselves from every institution in the country. They always defect (from party discipline) when votes come up on things like labor reform or a consumer-protection agency. This talk of an open convention was just more of the same."

Working for a GOP Congress

Republican strategists aren't conceding anything this time. They think they have the candidate and the issues, and certainly they have the money and the organization. The

Republicans will spend as much as \$12 million on the House races alone, trying to convince voters the Democratic Congress is as much a part of the problem as the Democratic President.

"Until a few months ago," says Steven Stockmeyer, executive director of the House Republican Campaign Committee, "people just wouldn't believe the Democrats have controlled Congress the last 25 years. People are beginning to think about that now."

Earlier this year Mr. Stockmeyer's committee ran a series of TV commercials in different sections of the country attacking the performance of the Democratic Congress. Even the Democrats admit the ads were effective. Between now and Election Day the committee is going to run an even bigger wave of commercials.

The idea is to convince voters that if they vote for Mr. Reagan, they should also vote for a Republican candidate for Congress, no matter what they think about the services tendered to them by the Democratic incumbent in their district. It is a difficult connection to make. But if they can do it, and if

Mr. Reagan wins really big, Republicans can anticipate winning control of Congress.

As of now, though, they think their victory will fall short of that mark. The "Watergate babies" will be hard to beat. It may turn out, senior Republican and Democratic strategists concede, that some of the veteran Democratic members may be more vulnerable than some of the "babies."

Consider Mr. Udall.

He was first elected in 1961 and ran second to Mr. Carter in many of the presidential primaries in 1976. He is chairman of the House Interior Committee.

Too Well Known?

One of his problems, he admits, is that he is too well known for his own good. "I'm as famous now as some members of the Senate," he says. That means the Republicans "would like to lift my scalp."

Adding to his troubles is the way his district, centered on Tucson, has changed as Northern migrants arrived. "It's as if they took two counties from upstate New York and dumped all the people in Tucson. They're older and wealthier, and they aren't 'Mo' Udall Democrats," he says.

Even though Mr. Udall was chosen by Mr. Carter to be the keynote speaker at this week's convention, he doesn't intend to run in Arizona with the top of the ticket. Arizona, he notes, hasn't voted for a Democrat for President since 1948 and isn't likely to break that string this year. He will run the way he always does, independently. His managers say it wouldn't bother them if voters remembered that Mr. Udall ran pretty vigorously against Mr. Carter in the primaries in 1976.

Other senior members of the House are in a similar fix. Republicans think they have a chance to defeat Al Ullman, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee; Thomas Foley, chairman of the Agriculture Committee; Harold "Bizz" Johnson, chairman of the Public Works Committee; Jim Wright, the majority leader; and John Brademas, the majority whip.

On the Senate side, South Dakota's George McGovern, the party standard-bearer in 1972, is in deep trouble. Iowa's John Culver is running well behind his opponent. Other prominent Democrats, including Frank Church of Idaho and Birch Bayh of Indiana, are struggling.

Mr. Carter's strategists reject the notion that their man will lose in a landslide. And they are contemptuous of the "babies" who are doing so much of the hand-wringing.

"These officeholders," says Karl Struble, an official at the Carter-controlled Democratic National Committee, "are always the first people to jump the ship when they see a little trouble way off on the horizon. But when things get better—and they will—they'll come crawling back."

Carter campaign ploy:

By Saul Friedman
and Remer Tyson
Inquirer Convention Bureau

NEW YORK — Democrats, ending their convention on a note of togetherness, launched a free-swinging, no-holds-barred campaign yesterday to frighten voters into re-electing Jimmy Carter out of a fear of Ronald Reagan.

The opening salvos of the Democratic offensive — stinging ridicule and personal insults aimed at Reagan — were fired by the President and the party's leaders during a luncheon to raise funds for beleaguered congressional candidates.

"We're going to have a problem this year with actors," said Carter, referring to Reagan's profession before he became governor of California in 1967. "But I don't think too much."

Recalling Reagan's slips in know-

ing the correct name of foreign leaders, the President suggested that if the "catastrophe" of a Republican victory "should befall our country," participants at future summit conferences would have to wear tags that say, "Hello, my name is. . . ."

And with guests at the \$500-a-plate luncheon cheering, Carter added: "But we're going to avoid that kind of embarrassment to our country, by waging the most united, concerted and sharply defined campaign in the history of the country."

His tone very serious, the President said the voters in November will make a "fundamental decision to set the course of the country for the rest of the century."

"And once the decision is made . . . it won't be possible to repeal or reverse it and the decision will affect the life of every person in this land and the life of every person on earth."

The tactic behind the President's words was clear — to portray Reagan as an inexperienced, irresponsible, ignorant right-wing extremist incapable of being president at a critical, complex time in the nation's history.

That line of attack has been an underlying theme, coordinated by Carter strategists and party leaders, and heard even during the final battles between the President and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy. It is a campaign based on negativism, an attempt to focus on the opponent rather than the issues.

Vice President Mondale, at a news conference on the eve of the convention, said Reagan's election would undermine and jeopardize "all the things we have fought for in the past 50 years."

And in opening the convention on Monday, Democratic National Chairman John White denounced Reagan as "a man loyal to petrified opinion."

Preaching fear of Reagan

the standard bearer of a party "that gave us the Great Depression, McCarthyism, Watergate, Spiro Agnew and Richard Nixon."

At the luncheon yesterday, Senate Democratic Leader Robert Byrd, speaking before Carter, lambasted the right-wing Republican attacks on Democratic candidates as "lying distortions." Byrd warned that GOP "money and distortions" could result in a change of power, not only in the presidency but in Congress as well.

Then, with the luncheon crowd screaming, "No! No!" Byrd recited the key Senate chairmanships that would change if Reagan led an across-the-board Republican victory:

" . . . John Tower (of Texas), chairman of the Armed Services Committee; Jesse Helms (of North Carolina), chairman of the Agriculture Committee; Robert Dole (of Kansas), Finance Committee; Barry Goldwater (of Arizona), chairman of the

Intelligence Committee, and Strom Thurmond (of South Carolina), chairman of the Judiciary Committee."

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, who introduced Carter, was equally derisive in assailing Reagan's fitness to be president.

But Byrd and O'Neill, like other, lesser Democrats who have participated in the party convention, said little or nothing positive about Carter.

"Fear of Reagan, fear of Reagan, fear of Reagan," said Joanne Symons, a New Hampshire Kennedy delegate. "That's the whole Carter campaign."

Other candidates, including Reagan's Republican primary opponents, have sought in the past to defeat Reagan by portraying him as too old (he's 69) or too extreme and simplistic. But Reagan's standing in the polls has been unaffected by such attacks. He has a hard core of zealous

supporters, and he has not been viewed by the voters as a dangerous extremist in the way Goldwater was in 1964.

In addition, Reagan intends to launch heavy attacks on Carter's record, which may be difficult for the President to defend. When Carter spoke to the Thursday luncheon, for example, he made no mention of the recession, the inflation rate, or the continued imprisonment of the American hostages in Iran.

The Democrats face a danger in emphasizing personalities rather than issues. Partly because of his acting background and even the roles he has played, Reagan has a "nice guy" image, according to pollsters, and a heavy-handed negative campaign could backfire.

Equally important, if Jimmy Carter gets too mean, he could destroy his greatest strength, his own public reputation as a nice guy.

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United States is

...nationally, the political route up.
It goes from city hall to state house to
Washington bureau to the editor's
chair. At that point the editor is inter-
ested — in guess what?

These are gross generalizations of
course, and I am sure that I will hear
from all the exceptions. But gross gen-
eralizations are generally true.

Journalists — present apolitical

are watching and reading less and
less about politics. What can we, the
hopeless media addicts, do? We can
write tons about that, too.

Ellen Goodman is a Globe colum-
nist.



vote on television with campaign
er Esther Peterson. (AP PHOTO)

you're dead serious

played when Sen. Edward Kennedy
as Carter's principal opponent. "He
matter so much himself," Jordan
at his people do."

Garden was a bitter place Tuesday
showed when a California Carter
Eleanor Brinton of Norco, over-
anna Burgess, a Kennedy whip from
telling a reporter: "Can Carter win
ber? I really can't say at this point."
interrupted with: "But I'll bet you're
do everything you can to see that he
in. Aren't you?"

wed again after Carter's campaign
Robert Strauss, was interviewed
King of ABC News and he walked
ttering: "They didn't ask the god-
publicans questions like that."
hen one of the most prominent elect-
ls in the Midwest was asked by a
ut Kennedy, the official answered:
me sick to be in the same party
stard like that."

re not nice people, the Carter folk.
er is their boss, the President of the
ites. Jody Powell was only half-kid-
he once said Jimmy Carter was "a
SOB."

had their way, Jimmy and Rosa-
lilton and Jody and the rest of the
e band of Georgians would try to
1980 campaign with no help from
if this convention is any indicator,
ave to.

Boston Globe, 8/15/80. What's wrong with this party?

It doesn't stand for anything anymore

By RICHARD COHEN

NEW YORK — My son, who is at that age, popped The Question the other day. My wife tried to answer, and then I tried to answer. But the truth of the matter is that neither one of us succeeded in explaining things to him. He asked, "What is a Democrat?" I think the answer is that no one knows anymore.

The answer certainly was not evident here at the convention. You could find, for instance, Orthodox Jews praying in a hotel hallway for Jimmy Carter to see the light and ban homosexuals from, if not this planet, then at least this country.

The next moment, you came across homosexuals who have their own group making plans to nominate one of their own for Vice President. You could find people on both sides of the Irish question, too, and someone calling for the napalming of David Rockefeller for reasons that remain a mystery.

Some of this color and diversity could simply be attributed to what is called The City of New York. But the truth is that you would find the same people wherever Democrats gather. It is the party, after all, that most of the people identify with, that they sense will respond to their complaints, their demands. It is elastic, willing to accommodate, to bend, to change, to incorporate. That is its strength. It has also become its weakness.

It's difficult to say anymore what the Democratic Party is about. It's hard to say what its programs are, what its underlying philosophy is, what it stands for and where. If it had to choose, it would choose to make the hard choices. The party that stands for everything after a while starts to stand for nothing. It is closer to that now than it has ever been.

Of all the groups that normally congregate at Democratic conventions, one was almost missing — intellectuals. John Kenneth Galbraith was seen around and Arthur Schlesinger hosted a party and — way to their left — Marcus Raskin worked the hotel lobby, actually talking issues. But aside from Raskin, the other two are old John Kennedy hands, whom he brought into the party councils. Jimmy Carter has done nothing like that. He talks neither to Galbraith nor to Raskin.

It's not clear if the intellectuals have stayed clear of Carter or he of them. He used them and their ideas fleetingly for his so-

called "malaise" speech of last summer, but the contact was not sustained. The Carter White House, which has a liaison with groups you never even heard of, has none with the intellectual community. It has cost them.

Intellectuals provide a sort of fiber to an Administration and a party. They define issues, provide ideas, tell you why you are doing what you are doing. For a long time, in fact, this was a major difference between the Democratic and Republican parties. The Democrats had ideas. They knew where they were going. The Republicans only knew where they had been.

That is no longer the case. It is the GOP that has welcomed intellectuals into the fold. It is the GOP that has listened. Intellectuals are responsible for the GOP's proposed tax legislation, for an entire economic package that you might or might not buy — but it is clearly an idea. If anything, the Democrats now seem hostile to ideas. The Carter Administration, for instance, has no philosophy. What it has instead is a kind of desire to always do the right thing. That's nice, but not exactly profound.

And the party does not seem to stand for much — or it stands for too much. Instead of ideas, you hear a kind of shrill yelling — demands from one of the party's constituent groups who see themselves first as, say, feminists, and only incidentally as Democrats. If they fail to get their way, they can walk. They don't need the party for anything, not even jobs. It's the other way around. The party needs them.

It's conceivable that the political Left is out of ideas. It's possible that the time has come to sound retreat, go into the libraries and the studies and think. As a party, the Democrats seem tired. Maybe they need a rest.

So in the last convention of the reign of Walter Cronkite, the party seemed confused and tired. It will have a candidate who is not popular, who has not been a successful President and who has no ideas that could, even for a moment, make your heart soar.

Soon the party will launch its fall campaign, once again calling itself the party of the people, the party of each group you can name. Maybe it will work again, but someday the Democratic Party is going to have to define itself, figure out what it's all about — that it is more than what you are if you are not a Republican. Maybe then I can tell my son what a Democrat is.

POLITICS '80





Representative Patsy Mink, New York delegates on the equal rights amendment plank yesterday were, from the left; Representative Patsy Mink, City Council President Carol Bellamy, and Donna E. Shalala, president of Hunter College.

Day of Moody Adjustment after Kennedy Withdraws

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

Through the day and into the evening the Democratic convention in two parts yesterday, although it has been invited to find healing in some compromises on dry runs and in denunciations of the enemy, Ronald Reagan.

Two camps circled each other in the hall, waiting for the appearance of the Senator. The tone of Senator Edward Kennedy, newly resigned as an in-theatre to President Carter. The Senator is regarded as the key to any plan to mend the party.

It was a day of moody adjustment, with delegates still mindful of Kennedy's most recent denunciation of the President as playing the role of Herbert Hoover while the country floundered. Kennedy delegates were mindful, in turn, that their candidate never got the face-to-face death Mr. Carter that he had sought in the last nine months. They booed any mention of Mr. Carter's name, and turned into prime time.

G.O.P. Victory Predicted

As we are putting on the show, the speaker asked Robert A. Nece, seated in the delegation as convention leader, to plump a message of unity to the television audience, if not for the convention hall. He leaned back in his chair, folded his arms and insisted that the tone of Mr. Kennedy at the convention was that the Republicans would win this state and the nation in the

link we're launching the Titanic. He said as podium speakers in that the party was blessed with

"healthy diversity" and not self-inflicted moral wounds.

"I don't know how the chemistry of this thing works," a Carter delegate, Dennis Gorski, said as he wandered off from his place in the New York delegation. "But I figure we'll unite sooner or later. The Republican nominee will help, and so will the fact that we all are so far behind now we have no choice."

1984 Candidacy Mentioned

With the peculiar talent politicians have for imagining comforts in the future, some Kennedy delegates began mentioning a 1984 candidacy even as the Carter people were left to sweat out the rest of 1980.

"Maybe he had to do a purgatory first," Joseph F. Crangle, the Kennedy campaign's director of party affairs, said, suggesting that there was some sort of long-range constructive power in his candidate's defeat.

The delegates converged in force for the evening session to hear the Senator. They returned from roaming the city and a convention itinerary that ranged from quiet discussions at a "world hunger information suite" to gatherings at a \$500-a-plate fund-raising luncheon for the President.

The concessions by Mr. Carter on platform issues seemed small comfort to some in the hall. Speaking for a Federal jobs program to fight unemployment, Representative Shirley Chisholm shook her head and said from the podium: "This should have been a proud and a unanimous statement of

Continued on Page B3, Column 1

DEMOCRATS BAN AID TO EQUAL RIGHTS FOES

Carter Forces Abandon Opposition — Abortion Funds Supported

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.

The Democratic National Convention voted yesterday to cut off financial and political aid to all party candidates who do not support the proposed equal rights amendment to the Constitution.

Until an hour before the issue reached the floor, President Carter's political lieutenants had been organizing to defeat the plank, which they had successfully kept out of the platform in pre-convention maneuvering. Then they switched signals and let it go through on a shouted voice vote.

Strong Pressure

The plank represents the strongest pressure for equal rights for women ever brought to bear by a major party, going beyond endorsement of the amendment, opposition to rescission of earlier state ratifications and a boycott aimed at discouraging party groups and others from meeting in states that have not ratified the amendment.

The new equal rights language was one of several changes that Democratic delegates wrote into the party platform yesterday over the active or passive resistance of President Carter, whose renomination was assured Monday night when Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts withdrew from the competition.

Some of the new planks adopted, like one dealing with full employment, were part of the Kennedy challenge to President Carter, pressed despite the end of the Senator's campaign. Others, like the equal rights provision, originated with Democrats who objected to part of the

Continued on Page B2, Column 5

"I am confident that the Demo

Text of Kennedy speech, page B2
A small but loyal cadre of Carter activists is evident in the business community. Page D1. Conflicts over a sentimental philosophy of the Democratic Party are reflected in the struggle between Kennedy and Carter forces the wage-price controls and jobs. D

Party will reunite on the basis of Democratic principles and that together will march toward a Democratic victory in 1980," he declared.

Moment Awaited by Carter Campaign

It was the moment that Carter's activists had hoped for, not only in the leading up to the convention battle day night but throughout the day yesterday amid signs of lingering bitterness and disaffection among the defeated Kennedy partisans.

But the Senator, pushing for passage of his own economic platform plank, was unrelenting in his pressure for policies that would "keep the faith" with the party's tradition and the unfortunate American society.

"Circumstances may change, but work of compassion must continue," declared to a hall, seemingly pleased with waving, jumping blue Kennedy banners. "It is surely correct that we can solve problems by throwing money at them. But it is also correct that we not throw our national problems on a scrap heap of inattention and indifference."

Assessment of Defeat

His own defeat in the long primary process and Monday night at the convention Senator Kennedy said, was minor compared to human suffering of other Americans.

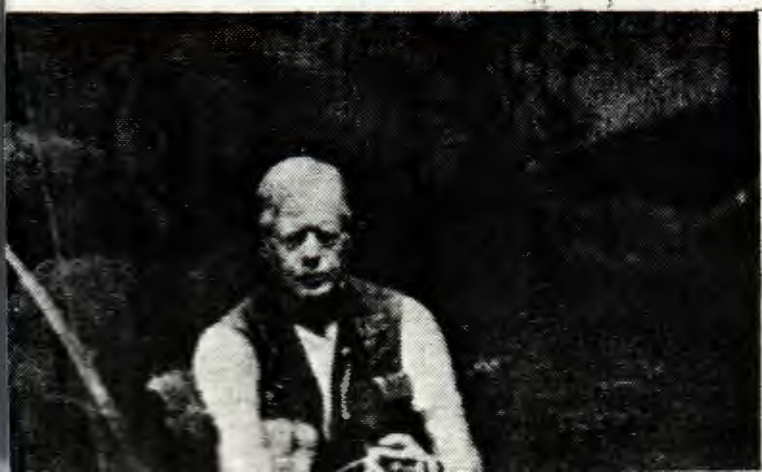
"We had our losses," he said, "but the pain of our defeat is far, far less than the pain of the people I have met. We learned that it is important to take it seriously, but never to take ourselves too seriously."

In Washington, before the Kennedy speech, President Carter, in his first public statement since clinching the nomination, said that he hoped to get Senator Kennedy's support because "I could better with him."

Now, no longer in contention for nomination, Senator Kennedy declared himself the spokesman of a cause — cause of the common man and the common woman.

"I take the unusual step of carrying

Continued on Page B3, Column 1



Ghost of Cincinnati Rock Tragedy Still Haunting Festival Promoters

By ROBERT PALMER

This summer, the rock-concert business, which grosses approximately \$2 billion a year, is coping with the repercussions of a tragedy. Last Dec. 3, 11 young people died while rushing to claim seats at a concert by the Who at Cincinnati's

some of the developments that taken place:

Authorities in many cities and states including New York and New Jersey have been questioning the sponsors

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school lunches, let us cut off tax subsi-
dies for expensive business lunches
that are nothing more than food stamps
for the rich.

The tax cut of our Republican oppo-
nent takes the name of tax reform in
vain. It is a wonderful Republican idea
that would redistribute income in the
wrong direction. It is good news for any
of you with incomes over \$200,000 a
year. For the few of you, it offers a pot
of gold worth \$14,000. But the Republi-
can tax cut is bad news for middle-in-
come families. For the many of you,
they plan a pittance of \$200 a year. And
that is not what the Democratic Party
means when we say tax reform.

The vast majority of Americans can-
not afford this panacea from a Republi-
can nominee who has denounced the
progressive income tax as the inven-
tion of Karl Marx. I am afraid he has
confused Karl Marx with Theodore
Roosevelt, that obscure Republican
President who sought and fought for a
tax system based on ability to pay.
Theodore Roosevelt was not Karl
Marx, and the Republican tax scheme
is not tax reform.

Insurance in a Fair Society

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from a fair society.

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alth.

he Vice President
f Congress have a

medical plan that meets their needs in
full. Whenever senators and represent-
atives catch a little cold, the Capitol
physician will see them immediately,
treat them promptly and fill a prescrip-
tion on the spot. We do not get a bill
even if we ask for it. And when do you
think was the last time a member of
Congress asked for a bill from the Fed-
eral Government?

I say again as I have said before: If
health insurance is good enough for the
President, the Vice President, and the
Congress of the United States, then it is
good enough for all of you and for every
family in America.

the Democratic Heritage

who said we should
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nd that our party
asing law to unlock
mination once and

for all. The American house will be
divided against itself so long as there is
prejudice against any American family
buying or renting a home.

And we can be proud that our party
stands plainly, publicly, and persist-
ently for the ratification of the Equal
Rights Amendment. Women hold their
rightful place at our convention; and
women must have their rightful place
in the Constitution of the United States.
On this issue, we will not yield, we will
not equivocate, we will not rationalize,
explain, or excuse. We will stand for
E.R.A. and for the recognition at long
last that our nation had not only found-
ing fathers, but founding mothers as
well.

A fair prosperity and a just society
are within our vision and our grasp. We
do not have every answer. There are
questions not yet asked, waiting for us
in the recesses of the future.

But of this much we can be certain,
because it is the lesson of our history:

Together a President and the people

across this land, I have listened and
learned.

I have listened to Kenny Dubois, a
glass-blower in Charleston, W. Va.,
who has 10 children to support but has
lost his job after 35 years, just three
years short of qualifying for his pen-
sion.

I have listened to the Trachta family,
who farm in Iowa and who wonder if
they can pass the good life and the good
earth on to their children.

I have listened to a grandmother in
East Oakland who no longer has a
phone to call her grandchildren, be-
cause she gave it up to pay the rent on
her small apartment.

I have listened to young workers out
of work, to students without the tuition
for college and the families without the
chance to own a home. I have seen the
closed factories and the stalled assem-
bly lines of Anderson, Ind., and South-
gate, Calif. I have seen too many — far
too many — idle men and women des-
perate to work. I have seen too many —

and that together we will march toward
a Democratic victory in 1980.

And someday, long after this conven-
tion, long after the signs come down,
and the crowds stop cheering, and the
bands stop playing, may it be said of
our campaign that we kept the faith.
May it be said of our party in 1980 that
we found our faith again.

May it be said of us, both in dark pas-
sages and in bright days, in the words
of Tennyson that my brothers quoted
and loved and that have special mean-
ing to me now:

*I am a part of all that I have met . . .
Tho much is taken, much abides . . .
That which we are, we are —
One equal temper of heroic heart . . .
strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield.*

For me, a few hours ago, this cam-
paign came to an end. For all those
whose cares have been our concern, the
work goes on, the cause endures, the
hope still lives and the dream shall
never die.

Democrats Deny Aid to Candidates Who Do Not Support Equal Rights

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Carter platform but did not necessarily
support Mr. Kennedy's candidacy.

As a practical matter, a ban on finan-
cial contributions by national Demo-
cratic organizations to candidates who
are opposed to the rights amendment
would probably affect few candidates
other than some Senate and House candi-
dates in relatively conservative states.

Carter political strategists were re-
portedly convinced that the ban could be
narrowly interpreted so as to cause little
interference with normal campaign
operations. The Democratic National
Committee has rarely succeeded in rais-
ing enough money to do more than make
modest investments in the Presidential
race and selected Congressional contests.

In any event, the party platform has
never been regarded as binding in a polit-
ical sense, much less in a legal sense, so
the new plank will be more likely to dis-
courage assistance for some Democratic
candidates than prevent it.

Democratic feminists won a second
victory when the delegates approved a

majority on a roll-call, manages to avoid any
use of the word "abortion." It oppose
"government interference in the repro-
ductive decisions of Americans" as well
as "involuntary or uninformed steriliza-
tion for women and men" and "restrict-
ions on funding for health services for
the poor that deny poor women especially
the right to exercise a Constitutionally-
guaranteed right to privacy."

The first victory by the Kennedy dele-
gates came with adoption of a minority
plank stating that "the need to guarantee
a job for every American who is able to
work . . . is our single highest domestic
priority and will take precedence over all
other domestic priorities."

It was approved 1,763 to 1,390, which in-
dicated that perhaps 800 delegates who
voted against the rules change backed by
Senator Kennedy on Monday shifted their
orientation and supported his full-em-
ployment plank a day later.

A Kennedy amendment calling for im-
mediate enactment of a comprehensive
national health insurance plan was de-
feated, 1,573 to 1,349. Supporters of the
President argued successfully that a
step-by-step program was less expensive
and more likely to win Congressional ap-
proval.

In a long day of floor debate, the con-
vention adopted without opposition sev-
eral changes in the platform that had
originally been presented by the Kennedy
minority and later accepted or compro-
mised by Carter supporters. They includ-
ed:

• Opposition to reduction in funding of
any Government programs "whose pur-
pose is to serve the basic human needs of
the most needy in our society."

• A pledge to enact in Congress a
phased reduction in the state share of the
cost of Federal-state welfare programs.

The New York Times will
publish excerpts from the
platform on Thursday.

minority report opposing restrictions on
public financing of abortions for the poor.
Congress has enacted a ban on such
spending by the Government, and the Su-
preme Court upheld the constitutionality
of that ban earlier this year.

The abortion plank, which got about 200
votes more than the required 1,666 ma-

Joseph Kraft

Oil Prices—Without Protest

The bad news isn't what the major oil-exporting countries did last week in Vienna. It's what the major oil-consuming countries did not do all over the world.

The United States, Japan and Europe uttered not a peep of protest against the latest OPEC move to raise prices. Their silence virtually ensures that the hammer blows delivered to the industrial world by OPEC bad guys on occasion last year will be delivered in years to come by OPEC good guys as part of an accepted international formula.

In 1979, international oil markets were dominated by the collapse of the shah. Iranian oil exports fell from over 5 million to under 3 million barrels a day. That drop, and the prospect of worse to come, stimulated panic buying.

Three oil countries with radical regimes—Libya, Algeria and Iran—used the occasion to drive up prices by sales on the spot market and heavy pressure inside OPEC. As a result, the average price of oil per barrel doubled in 1979. The international oil bill for most countries increased enormously. The spur to inflation helped tip the United States and several other industrial countries into recession.

Saudi Arabia, and a number of pro-Western countries, did their best to brake the price rise. The Saudis kept production high (9.5 million barrels a day instead of the 8.5 million norm). They held their base price at \$28 a barrel as against over \$35 charged by the Algerians and Libyans.

But their moderation found little reward from the United States and its allies. If anything, on the contrary, the Carter administration kept right on courting the radical oil states. Moreover, the attempted seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca showed that accommodation with the West rendered the Saudi royal regime vulnerable to radical Islamic subversion. So the Saudis set about developing an oil strategy that did not leave them at a disadvantage compared with other OPEC members.

The Saudi strategy centers on a long-range pricing formula. The basic idea is that OPEC floor prices would be adjusted upward in line with three different series—increases in the prices of industrial goods, increases in the gross national products of the industrial countries and the standing of the dollar against the basket of other currencies.

Market conditions currently favor the application of that strategy. The panic buying has led to a glut of oil supplies. Some exporters have had to sell at a discount recently.

Even so the Libyans, Algerians and Iranians refuse to accept the Saudi strategy unless the Saudis raise prices to establish a higher floor, and cut back production to tighten markets.

At the Vienna meeting, the Saudis took a first step in that direction. They agreed to raise their base price from \$28 to \$30 a barrel. The expectation is that in the near future they will go up to \$32 a barrel, and cut back production. Then the long-term strategy will be accepted and applied.

Once established, the long-term strategy puts a noose around the neck of the United States and other industrial countries. It will raise oil prices as soon as business activity picks up in the industrial world—thus reigniting inflation and causing recovery to self-destruct. It will increase oil prices further as inflation mounts—thus deepening the amount, and prolonging the extent, of the unemployment the industrialized countries will have to swallow to stabilize prices.

Finally, by linking oil prices to a basket of currencies, the long-term strategy increases the vulnerability of the dollar. The United States will more than ever have to manage its federal budget and its interest rates with an eye toward satisfying foreign speculators, which will limit this country's ability to meet its responsibilities for defense and foreign aid.

That prospect would appall any serious American administration, and most of the other governments in the industrialized world. By unified protest—and by joint action—the industrialized countries could at least make the Saudis think twice.

But President Carter has his eyes fixed on more important business—the business of reelection. He wants the country to believe everything is just dandy. Since he keeps his mouth shut, mum is also the word for the Europeans and Japanese. So the Saudis are encouraged to move ahead, and the world has the impression nothing much will happen, and the United States continues to participate in its own decline.

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George F. W.

The S

Until last Tuesday, contented himself Ronald Reagan is a warmonger who will one on earth, regardless of creed. But Carter such moderation in no virtue. Now he is a racist.

Carter surrogates die such sleaziness, that if you want something you should do it yourself. You should attempt to take the same from the political allies: Pat Robertson, a health care Rep. Parren Mitchell, drew Young.

Harris says some specter of white alien. Her excuse for terrorism (a not-very McCarthyism and some fool from some Klux Klan likes Reagan). A grinning Carter put the same slime up scribing Reagan as the presidency of with the endorsement Klan."

Well, now. Com joined Carter's disapproval to Peking in support. A Marxist nation has had the endorsement Carter, in the Carter grinned over Iran, Ghotbzadeh should be released. Reagan's election,

